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DETAIL OF THE ADORATION OF THE HOLY TRINITY
A. DÜRER

Visual Representations of the Trinity

An Historical Survey

by

JOHN BRAINERD MacHARG, C.E., A.M.

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University

. . . . Suppose he has his word
In faith's behalf, no matter how absurd,
This painter-theologian? One and all
We lend an ear—nay, Science takes thereto—
Encourages the meanest who has racked
Nature until he gains from her some fact,
To state what truth is from his point of view,
Mere pin-point though it be: since many such
Conduce to make a whole, she bids our friend
Come forward unabashed and haply lend
His little life-experience to our much
Of modern knowledge.¶
—*FRANCIS FURINI.* ROBERT BROWNING.

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1917

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PREFACE

The pictorial expression of the Trinity flourished in the Middle Ages from roots that lie in the Dark Ages and in the Catacombs. Its imagery is the flower of mediæval faith, art and mysticism. To deal with such a subject, the historian must take account of more than a development of art technic: for the representations are not merely the formulation in terms of art of the dogmas of theology; they are the expression of that faith of humanity, which speaks through religion as through literature, of the ideals of society.

The realm of Faith in which these conceptions lie, is also a mirror of human outlook, of its limitations and of its capacity. The representations of the Trinity cannot be considered historically, unless one takes into account, the mental, moral and practical experiences, which through nineteen centuries have been bound up with belief. It may be well to remember that the Saints of Christianity in every age are the expert witnesses in this field, and bear the same relation to religion that the great masters do to art, their life and work testifying to certain underlying principles that are eternally true.

And yet, this is not a study in theology. It remains a definite witness to historical facts. It is valid no matter what conceptions we may now hold concerning the doctrine with which it deals.

To one class of men, the truth about the Trinity is that it is a fable. For those to whom the Trinity is human fiction, this study is justified, if at all, by showing some of the means by which the myth has been perpetuated.

Others believe in an infinite God, whom they cannot know; in Christ as good as man could be, but of whose nature they cannot know; in God's spirit, of which they

cannot know. This is the Trinity, perhaps, of some agnostic thinkers.

Others look at Raphael's Trinity, and believe where they cannot understand, because they know more certainly than reason can convince, that Jesus was God, and that he comes to the Altar still.

But all may contemplate with interest the symbolism of Christian art; to the rationalistic mind, an empty form; to the mystic, an emblem of any truth that unlimited imagination sees fit to read into it; to others, the concrete expression of that which might else have remained beyond the grasp of thought and worship.

In attempting to trace the development of representations of the Trinity, as a part of my historical studies at Leipzig University, I found help and inspiration in that big-souled historian, Lamprecht, whose life the Great War has ended. To him and to Professors Studniczka and Schmarsow, my gratitude is due for careful assistance.

At Columbia University, where my work has been completed, I have found facilities for investigation, and scholarly guidance, not surpassed, in my judgment, in Germany. I wish especially to express my thanks to Prof. J. T. Shotwell by whose advice I have continually profited; and to Prof. A. L. Frothingham of Princeton, for many helpful suggestions.

I shall remember with satisfaction the cheerful, patient, and skillful help, given to me by the Librarians and attendants of many institutions, especially those of Berlin University, Columbia University and the Leipziger Kunstverein.

More than all, I would record the help of a sister through many years, without which I should not have made this book.

J. B. M.

New York, April 25, 1917.

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as well as the interior of churches, increased and diversified the opportunities for decoration. The windows became luminous pictures, decreasing however, the unbroken spaces of the walls available for paintings, and often rendering wall paintings less effective than formerly through unfavorable lighting. This would tend to increase the importance of the altar pieces, occupying a central position in the churches, and here, considering the diversity of subjects under which it is shown, the Trinity is one of the subjects most frequently represented.

Very bold or very simple, is the man who attempts to picture infinite God. The result must necessarily be so unsatisfactory that it is very easy to condemn off hand, all representations of the Trinity, but whoever knows the exquisite creations of those who have tried to make comprehensible and visible this august dogma, would surely never wish to annihilate their work.

Pictures and images in churches have been an important means of teaching. And what they have been, they remain to-day, although neglected by a large part of the Christian world. Perhaps a sympathetic appreciation of the comparatively inaccessible works of Dürer and Raphael is in general impossible, but hardly, it seems to me, can anyone study these wonderful representations of the Trinity seriously and sympathetically, without feeling something of that fascinating incomprehensibility of the Trinity, which has led men to call it a Mystery. Like the fourth dimension, it seems that it may belong within the pale of reason, even though it cannot be understood. This statement has significance, for if it be true that pictures of the Trinity stir the imagination in the twentieth century, we may believe that their impression and influence were greater in bygone and less critical ages. This study is inspired by the belief that sources of information which the eye can see are of great importance in teaching, and proposes to catalogue, to classify and to discuss, some of the most important and typical visual representations, from which men got ideas of the Trinity, especially in the years before the invention

of printing, stating exactly, where reproductions of these representations may be found. No attempt has been made to repeat the detailed studies of Didron (v. p. 12), but rather, using his work which deals principally with manuscripts and all available materials, to bring the pictures of the Trinity into the light in an orderly fashion, so that we may more easily see what others saw, to teach them of a triune God.

CHAPTER II

The Doctrine of the Trinity

The followers of Jesus Christ believed that he was God. Their certainty and their courage after the Crucifixion, stand as significant tribute to the reality of their faith. He had spoken of God the Father, and of the Holy Spirit, so that a definition of his relation to them seemed to Christians necessary or advisable. The ultimate result of the attempt to formulate this relation was the doctrine of the Trinity.

It is the purpose of this chapter to argue neither for nor against the dogma, but to present for convenient reference, an outline of the history of the features of its origin and development, most important in connection with the visual representations to be considered, that we may know something of the contemporary faith and oral teaching of the Church.

Because of the widespread belief in triune deities, efforts have been made to show a pre-Christian origin for the doctrine of the Trinity.[1] O. Kirn in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, summarizes the matter: "There is no reason to seek for sources or types of the doctrine of the Trinity outside of Christianity or of the Bible . . . Even were the resemblance between the Christian Trinity and the pagan triads far greater than it is, there could be no serious question of borrowing.[2] (SH XII 19b).

[1] Cf. e.g. J. R. Beard, who has "a confirmed conviction that trinitarianism is of both a heathen origin and heathen tendency." HAI 77).

[2] A modern and careful discussion of the *"Ethnic Trinities,"* (ETP) has been writen by L. L. Paine, who is also the author of the *"Evolution of Trinitarianism."* (EOT).

The same authority may also be quoted against the opinion that so essential a doctrine as that of the Trinity must have been known to Old Testament writers. He says that "no modern theologian who clearly distinguishes between the degrees of revelation in the Old and New Testament, can longer maintain such a view."

We come now to the teachings of Christ, and of the New Testament, as sources for the doctrine of the Trinity. The conclusions of Illingworth (DOT 46) are that the distinction of Father, Son and Holy Spirit was taught by St. Paul, presumably within ten or twelve years after the crucifixion, and presumably in agreement with the other apostles. The doctrine of the Trinity is not, however, definitely stated in the New Testament, and the text offering most definite evidence of it, Matt. 28:19, is questioned.

Orthodox Christianity, accepting the doctrine as developed by the Church, believes that the earliest Christian teaching "included the doctrine of a Trinity, and an incarnation, as early as St. Paul wrote his epistles; that is to say within thirty years of its origin, and it is an inevitable inference, from his own words, that the same doctrines had been taught by him from the first, that is from a date about twenty years earlier, and in common with the other apostles, while both doctrines are attributed to Christ Himself, by St. John." (DOT 63).

It is certain that the doctrine became well defined in the 2nd century. "It is highly probable that a short confession was strictly formulated in the Roman community before the middle of the 2nd century, expressing belief in the Father, Son and Spirit." (H I 157). Theophilus in 180, used the word τρίας and Tertullian writing shortly afterward, employed the Latin term *trinitas*, and first formulated the concept. (SH XII 19c.).[1]

Contemporary with the development of the doctrine of the Trinity, were other beliefs called heresies by the Church, which conditioned its growth. Prominent among these of course, was Gnosticism, the rationalistic philos-

[1] On the origins of the Apostles' creed, cf. "The Apostles' Creed," A. C. McGiffert. N. Y., C. Scribner's Sons 1902.

ophy of the 2nd century, which made Christ an Aeon of Light opposed to Darkness. The direct influence of Montanism of the same period upon the dogmas, was slight.

In the next century the Monarchians, following the teachings of Sabellius, substituted a temporal Trinity for an eternal one, believing that God manifests himself in three modes, without the personal distinctions of Trinitarian faith.

More important than any other was the heresy named from Arius of Alexandria, which was condemned at the Council of Nicæa, and finally defeated in the course of the 4th century in that it denied the divinity of Christ.

The evolution of the definite statement of the doctrine of the Trinity can best be traced in the growth of the creeds, full texts of which are to be found in Schaff's works upon the subject. (CC). The creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus, circ. 270, is "more explicit on the doctrine of the Trinity, than any other ante-Nicene creed, . . . " (CC II 24).

In the creeds of Nicæa 325, Jerusalem 348, and of Constantinople 381, conveniently arranged for study by Curtis (HCC 70, 71) we see the gradual growth of the articles of the creed which influenced visual representations of the Trinity. By the year 381 the doctrine of the Trinity was settled, and the result of long discussion was formulated in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, commonly miscalled the Nicene Creed. One of the new phrases in this Creed of 381, asserts that the Holy Ghost "proceeded from the Father." This doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost was further developed in the West under the influence of Augustine and other Latin Fathers, who asserted that the Spirit proceeded not merely from the Father but also from the Son. The phrase Filioque was introduced into the symbol of the Council of Toledo in 447, and in 589 by order of another Council held also at Toledo, it was placed in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. It was maintained by the oriental Christians that it was an unwarranted and therefore heretical addition to an ecumenical creed, and it

therefore became the subject of very bitter controversy. The Filioque was accepted by the Latin Church of the Middle Ages, but was rejected by those communions often spoken of as the Greek Church, who maintained that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father alone. Pictorial representations of the Trinity may vary according to whether the artist believes that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, or from the Father and the Son. An incident which occurred at the Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438, the final attempt at union between the Eastern and Western Churches, illustrates this. Bessarion 1395?—1472, the illustrious Greek Cardinal and writer, visualized his theology when he said that certain Fathers conceived of the Procession as taking place along a straight line. In Western theology, the triangle has always been the symbol to represent the three persons of the Trinity. (CE XV, 54a).

This outline of the growth of the doctrine of the Trinity has left unmentioned various heresies, tenets and philosophies, of prime importance in any adequate treatment of the history of the dogma. The aim has been to emphasize those features which are likely to be concerned in pictorial representation.

In the study of religious pictures of Western Europe, Byzantine influence may sometimes be traced, and the more important facts in the history of the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches are here tabulated for reference.

381 Council of Constantinople, Bishop of Constantinople second only to Bishop of Rome.

451 Council of Chalcedon, Primacy of Constantinople. Rome protests.

484 Pope Felix III excommunicates the Patriarch of Constantinople.

519 Pope Hormisdas withdraws ban and first schism of 35 years, ends.

590-604 Gregory I denies title of Ecumenical Patriarch to Bishop of Constantinople.

692 Council in Trullo or Quinisext, antagonizes Rome.

7th and 8th centuries Islam weakens Eastern Church.

717-741 Leo the Isaurian. Iconoclast.

787 Council of Nicæa decides in favor of worship of images.

790-794 Caroline Books. Worship or destruction of images forbidden by Charlemagne.

794 Synod of Frankfort condemns image worship.

850 circ. False Decretals.

863 Nicolas I and Photius excommuicate and depose each other.

866 Emperor Basil I, 866-886, exiles Photius, and heals the schism by restoring Ignatius, the Pope's candidate.

1054 July 16. Pope Leo IX excommunicates Patriarch, and present schism of East and West begins.

1438 Council of Ferrara-Florence. Attempt to unite Greek and Roman Churches.

CHAPTER III

Sources

The earliest Christian pictures are the paintings of the Catacombs. Although they show no pictures of the Trinity, they are of importance in the study of the origin of type forms, which later developed into representations of the Trinity. Sarcophagi and other early Christian monuments afford a small number of examples.[1]

The illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages are the most important sources for the pictures of the Trinity. They were influenced, doubtless, by wall paintings and mosaics. The Church in turn, probably chose from their treasures those representations which seemed most important for the altar pieces and frescoes which were to influence the masses. Service books of all kinds, Bibles, and private books of devotion, afford abundant examples of attempts to portray the Trinity.[2]

In the books for the laity known as "Hours," there were two services which were usually adorned with pictures of the Trinity, namely the "Hours" for Sunday, and the "Propria" for the Masses of the Holy Ghost.

[1] Some miles of catacombs have been traversed, and many of the more important objects have been seen in the originals, but photographs and reproductions in the comprehensive works of scholars who have thoroughly studied these fields, offer the most satisfactory means for the study of this period. These have been carefully examined and duly noted.

[2] A complete and satisfactory study of the representations of the Trinity would require examination of hundreds or thousands of manuscripts, widely scattered and carefully guarded, in public and private collections. While the writer has by no means covered the whole field, he believes, however, to have made a fairly comprehensive survey through the use of reproductions which make easy the study of the most important manuscripts; through the examination of many original miniatures; and from the conclusions of scholars who have devoted their lives to the study of manuscript ornamentation.

Here, and in other places where a visual expression of the Trinity appears, it is perhaps, most often part of an ornamental border or initial letter, although full-page illustrations are, of course, by no means rare.

Many manuscripts have been published in truly magnificent editions, reproducing with fidelity, the marvellous coloring of the originals. The Berlin Library is especially rich in these reproductions, and they constitute perhaps, the chief source for the examples of the Trinity, in the manuscripts noted in this investigation.

Original drawings and prints from engravings upon wood and other materials are another less important source for representations of the Trinity in the Middle Ages. The collections of the Kupferstichkabinett of Berlin, are conveniently catalogued under the heading "Trinity," and have, it is hoped, supplemented by similar collections in Leipzig and Dresden, furnished a trustworthy survey of this source.

While the lives of the common people were influenced in some measure by the pictures of such books as the Biblia Pauperum, the appeal to the eyes of the many was through the frescoes and paintings of the churches. In the study of these very important sources, reproductions are of invaluable service and have been largely relied upon, although most of the great collections of Europe have been visited and some of them have been carefuly studied.

There remain representations of the Trinity to be found in tapestry, window glass and enamel work; carvings of wood, ivory, etc.; plastic representations in various materials, and sculpture in stone. Further, symbols and representations of the Trinity are often to be found upon seals, coins and other objects. These are of importance in showing prevailing types, rather than for artistic merit, although often that is not lacking. They follow usually the type forms of miniatures and paintings.[1]

[1] Many originals of which this paragraph treats, have been studied in situ, or in the museums where they are preserved. Reproductions are to be found in books of many kinds, hardly to be classified, consisting how-

The Bibliography appended shows the secondary sources of which use has been made.[1]

Without adequate illustration this thesis is incomplete, for it can give no idea of the grace and charm of the miniatures, and of the hundreds of pictures which have inspired it. If, however, it makes easier an intelligent survey of them, one definite aim will have been accomplished.

---

ever, principally of the memorials, catalogues, and reports of learned societies, and of publications describing ecclesiastical objects.

[1] The most extended treatment of the Inconography of the Trinity is to be found in the works of A. N. Didron, 1806-1867. Valuable as are the studies and conclusions of this great scholar, the wealth of information which he gives us is often confused, and he ignores apparently, some of the great paintings which represent the Trinity. Moreover, he says: "The Trinity painted by Francesco di Pesello or Pessellino, is altogether the most magnificent symbol of this mystery, we have seen. This painting, the masterpiece of a great artist, and perhaps the finest work of its time, now hangs in room XIII of the National Gallery, London, No. 727." (DI II Ap. I.). Such high praise of a decidedly second-rate picture, makes one doubt Didron's appreciation of the great representations of the Trinity, much as we may value his work as an archæologist. He is sometimes so indefinite as to be misleading, *e. g.*, in speaking of the mosaics in the apses of the Roman basilicas (DI II, 36, 37). Of those named, St. Mark's alone, shows the Dove. One would guess that Didron followed the illustrations of Ciampini and mistook the phœnix with its elaborate nimbus, for the Dove of the Spirit.

The most useful and reliable general survey of Christian Iconography, including the Trinity, is that by Detzel. (DE).

CHAPTER IV

Representations of the Trinity in General

The words "representations of the Trinity" occur often in this investigation, and it may be well to note that the phrase admits of two interpretations. First, there are hundreds or thousands of pictures which certainly represent the three persons of the Trinity, while the theme and name indicate another subject, for example, the Baptism, the Coronation of Mary, or Mary adoring the Child, etc. In the second place we have, especially so far as the painting of larger canvases and frescoes is concerned, a smaller number of paintings whose name is solely the Trinity. In this investigation, when not otherwise noted, all pictures with the three Persons of the Trinity, whether personally or symbolically represented, are named and treated as representations of the Trinity, whatever may be the subject of the picture.[1]

In the classification of pictures, it may be of interest to note the possibilities of variety in representation, and how far these were used. The following table shows the combinations in a vertical line, for God the Father in human form (GF), God the Son in human form (Gs), and God the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove (D).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
I.	GF	GF	Gs	Gs	D	D
	D	Gs	GF	D	GF	Gs
	Gs	D	D	GF	Gs	GF

[1] Pictures of the Trinity have received comparatively little attention in popular consideration of Christian art. Canon Farrar does not mention them in his *"Life of Christ"* in art (LCF), possibly because he recognized the doctrine of the Trinity as subsequent to Christ's life upon earth. He does not, for that reason, omit the "Last Judgment" however. J. La Farge, *"Gospel Story in Art,"* (N. Y. Macm. 1913), and J. L. French, *"Christ in Art,"* (Boston, L. C. Page & Co., 1900), also entirely omit pictures of the Trinity.

Of these, (1) is found most often, (5) less frequently, and the others rarely or not at all. Insomuch as God the Father may be represented by a sunburst or hand; Christ by a lamb, cross or crucifix; God the Holy Ghost by a human figure, a dove, or perhaps by clouds and rays of light, the number of possible arrangements is evidently very large. Some of these would be comparatively senseless and unsatisfactory groupings, but that more of them were not used is probably explained by the fact that representations of the Trinity were not usually designed according to the whim of the individual, but rather in harmony with standards fixed by custom.

There are three representations of the Trinity which may perhaps, with most justice, be named "great": "The Adoration of the Trinity by all the Saints," by Durer in Vienna, van Eycks' "Adoration of the Lamb" in the Cathedral of St. Bavon, Ghent, and Raphael's "La Disputa" in the Vatican. The last two, as we shall see later, are perhaps related, yet distinct and individual in their type-form. All, however, are alike in that the three Persons of the Trinity are represented symmetrically about a vertical axis. Herein lies a basis for grouping together the portrayals of the Trinity, usually considered most satisfactory. The other two clearly defined types, namely, the horizontal representations, and those consisting principally of groups about the dead body of Christ, are in general less satisfactory, in that the idea of unity is not so strongly presented.

Objects arranged vertically seem to be more nearly unified than when arranged in any other way. Our subconscious sense of the force of gravity, and the ease with which we incline the head up or down in surveying a vertical representation, may in part explain this feeling. The influence of the vertical stroke representing unity, is also not negligible.

However unsatisfactory all representations of the Trinity may be, regarded from a religious or aesthetic standpoint, they are least so when two principles are observed. First, the three Persons must be symmetrically represented about a vertical axis, and secondly, the mem-

bers of the Trinity, if personally represented, must be of like size. Otherwise the ideas of equality and unity, are excluded. The idea of equality demands also, that the Persons shown be like in dignity. If this principle be not followed, however beautiful and interesting the picture may be, it is likely to condemn the artist's feeling, and general sense of the fitness of things.

CHAPTER V

Iconography

The Iconography of the three Persons of the Trinity involves investigation so minute, and the survey of such wide fields, that any adequate presentation is quite impossible here. The brief statements which follow, made for convenience of reference, are based largely upon standard authorities, chiefly Cabrol (CO), Crosnier (CR), Detzel (DE), Didron (DI), Kraus (KR), where will be found ample materials for study of subjects here summarized. In general, it must be remembered that exceptions to the usual treatment of symbolic representation are very common, and that definite dates and statements, must be subject to this condition.

God the Father

In the first nine centuries, God the Father is rarely represented in human form, and almost exclusively upon sarcophagi, of which the earliest example is probably the Lateran Sarcophagus (DE I 57) dating from the 4th century. The wall painting of God the Father in Cœmeterium Maius,[1] a Roman Catacomb dating from the sec-

[1] Of this representation of God the Father, Wilpert says: "Wir sehen hier, in einem ovalen Nimbus, die Büste eines bartlosen Jünglings. von dessen Kopf zwei Strahlenbündel ausgehen. Das Anlehnen an die antiken Heliosbüsten ist unverkennbar; der Künstler hat aber das Vorbild Christlich umgestaltet, in dem er der Büste den ganzen rechten Arm gab. Augenscheinlich schwebten ihm die zahlreichen biblischen Ausdrücke, welche von der 'Rechten des Herrn,' von der 'Hand Gottes' reden, vor: er war aber noch zu klassisch gebildet, als dass ihm zur Personifikation Gottes eine Hand oder ein Arm ohne Kopf hätte genügen können. Dieses trat mehr als hundert Jahre später ein; erst im 4. Jahrhundert kamen scenen auf, in denen Gott durch eine aus den Wolken ragende Hand verbildlicht ist." W I 33).

Garrucci (GAC VI 443) shows another example of a youthful God

ond half of the 4th century, is probably the oldest painted likeness of God the Father; it shows also a very early example of the Hand of God. (W I 33d, II 39, 2).

The second œcumenical council held at Nicæa in 787 spoke in favor of representations of the Deity, but not until the 12th century is God the Father frequently shown in human form. The face and bust are in general earlier than representations of the entire figure. At first, God the Father, often beardless, is represented exactly as the Christ.

In the 14th century a differentiation began, and from about the middle of that century, God the Father is often represented with longer beard and hair, larger head, and older features than the other Persons of the Trinity, but until the 15th century, all are usually represented alike, if they appear under the figure of man. In the 15th or 16th century God the Father is usually portrayed much older than Christ, often with insignia characteristic of the sovereign ruler of the country where the artist was working. God the Father of Renaissance art, appears often without insignia, and as a type of dignified humanity rather than of glorified divinity. The orb is the most usual distinctive attribute of God the Father, although of course, often borne by the other Persons of the Trinity. The sceptre and sword are to be found less frequently.

The symbolic Hand sometimes represents God the Father, the most familiar examples being found in early representations of the Baptism, and in the mosaic pictures of the apses of the churches of Rome, where the glorified Christ is portrayed.

The tomb of Junius Bassus, bearing the date of 359, is said to be the earliest example of the Hand representing the first Person of the Trinity (GAC V 322, 2: DI 337: AUKB 114), and until the 12th century it represents

the Father. With these two ancient representations, it may be interesting to compare the figure reaching out from the clouds, in the *Pietà*, by Bœcklin of the Berlin Gallery,—which it seems to me, may reasonably be considered a representation of God the Father. The cataogue names it an angel.

God the Father almost exclusively. From that time on, its use has been occasional.[1]

We find other means used in order to avoid a personal representation of divinity. In representations of the Baptism and of the Annunciation, radiating beams and the Dove, are often shown descending from clouds above. Sometimes the clouds are so treated that they suggest the glory of God within them, and in this way they become a symbol of God the Father. This seems to be the case in the German-Byzantine Evangeliar at Goslar, and probably also in the same theme, as handled by some of the artists of the Biblia Pauperum.[2] Often it is a question whether the clouds are intended to symbolize God, or the place where he is localized.[3]

Although the use of clouds to represent God does not occur often, and can hardly be considered a well-defined usage, we may easily believe that such representation was sometimes in the minds of the early, as well as of the later artists.

Sometimes God the Father is indicated by the name of Javeh, written in Hebrew, or by its abbreviation; sometimes by a throne.

Other ways of representing God were rarely used, and the personal representation became the usual one.[4] We become so accustomed to God the Father above in the clouds, that when another object is found in the place of the usual symbolic figure, as for example a tree, in the Baptism by Piero della Francesca of the National Gallery, London, we wonder whether this may not have had symbolic import in the mind of the painter.[5]

[1] Two hands are sometimes used to represent God the Father, especially in Italy. A familiar example is seen in the *Madonna* of Andrea della Robbia in the National Museum, Florence. Cf. also p. 50.

Modern examples of the use of the Hand in art are to be seen in *"The Hand of God"* by Rodin of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and in Sargent's frieze of the Boston Library.

[2] "The Weigel-Felix Biblia Pauperum" a monograph by C. Dodgson (London, Chiswick Press, CU 016, 09, D 66), contains an essay upon the Biblia Pauperum in general, as well as a description of the Weigel-Felix copy, now in the J. P. Morgan Library, New York.

[3] Cf. the Baptism, in the Evangelarium of Otto III. (EO 8-20).

[4] Montault says that among the Byzantines, the Throne sometimes replaces a personal representation of the Father. (IBM I 46).

[5] For the tree as a symbol of God, cf. HAS Ex. Vol., p. III: JHS XXI 129.

God the Son

While there was decided disinclination to portray God the Father in the earlier centuries, God the Son has been continuously represented throughout the centuries of Christian art.

Three periods and three corresponding types of representation may be recognized, but such divisions are of course, general and the exceptions are many. The first type is that of the beardless, youthful Christ, which arose under the influence of the representations of the Good Shepherd and occurs, especially in the West, during the first six centuries. Later examples exist, but the beardless Christ of S. Vitale of the sixth century may be considered as closing the period. The East deems the beard a necessary part of perfect manhood, and its pictures of the beardless Christ are symbols rather than actual representations of personal Divinity. The divine Christ is always shown bearded.

The second type represents Christ as a bearded man of mature years, and is most common from the 10th to the 13th century, although, of course, earlier examples are found. A Syrian Bible of 586 (TC 17) shows a bearded Christ, which is one of the earliest representations of this type to be found in manuscripts.

In many examples contemporary with the second type, but in general characteristic of the later Middle Ages, we may recognize a third type in which the face and beard of Christ are lengthened, the eyes set deeper, and lines of age appear, perhaps under the influence of the dominant representations of God the Father, and the art of Byzantium. In the 15th and 16th centuries, many representations of Christ show the influence of the tendency of the times to degrade and humanize the figures of sacred art.

The cross as symbolizing or representing Christ, was very rarely used in the first three centuries. After Constantine's time, it was used publicly and more generally.

Excepting the well-known 2nd century Graffito rep-

resentation of the Crucifixion, from the Pedagogium of the Palatine, the doors of S. Sabina (SDA I, 333) at Rome, probably deserve their fame as affording the earliest example of this subject, (circ. 432-440), but it is to be noted that the cross is not shown and that the crucifixion is indicated through the positions of the figures. The earliest textual evidence of representations of Christ upon the cross is found about a hundred years later. They were developed in the 7th century, being favored by the decisions of the Council in Trullo, 692. The use of the crucifix became a general custom in the 8th and 9th centuries. (KZ p. 24).

In the earliest pictures of the Crucifixion, the feet of Christ are often shown separately nailed, or without nails. Sometimes the hands also, are without wounds. Until the 13th century, three or four nails are used indifferently, but from that time on, the feet are usually shown pierced by a single nail.

At first the figure of Christ was usually shown in a long robe. In the 11th and 12th centuries, the garment is shortened—a process which continues in the 13th, until the loin cloth becomes conventional in the 14th century. The figure of Christ was first represented straight, and without evidence of suffering. Later periods developed the crooked and pendent types.

The Cross of Lothair of the 9th century, (p. 69) affords one of the earliest pictures of the wound. Until the 11th century Christ is usually shown as living, but in the 13th and 14th centuries, as appears in the discussion of the Trinities of the Broken Body and of the Seat of Mercy, the lifeless figure of Christ is often shown.

Christ is often represented by the Lamb in pictures of the Trinity. This was a favorite symbol in the early centuries of which the Catacombs and mosiacs of Rome afford many examples. The Council in Trullo, 691, opposed the Lamb. From the seventh century therefore, the Church favored representations of Christ in human form, and during the reign of Charlemagne the symbol of the Lamb was forbidden. Its use however, continued,

favored by the figurative language of both the Old and New Testaments.

The lion, fish, Orpheus, the Good Shepherd, etc., are familiar symbols of Christ,[1] and examples of representations of the Trinity may perhaps be found, of which they are a part.

God the Holy Ghost

Throughout the course of Christian art, beginning with the frescoes and sarcophagi of the Catacombs, the Holy Ghost has been represented by the dove, in forms so various, that any useful classification seems to me impracticable.[2] It is of course, not safe to assume that every dove in Christian art represents the Holy Ghost. Sometimes, for example, it is plainly Noah's dove that is shown. The stork-like birds such as are to be seen standing on the palm trees of the apses of S. Cosma e Damiano, and of S. Prassede probably represent the phœnix. In general, the Dove of catacombs and mosaics is stiff and formal, and perhaps more frequently perched than in later art. Pictures of the Western Church often intentionally depict the Dove as proceeding from the Father and the Son, while the Eastern Church in its representations, frequently emphasizes the single Procession. Often the Dove is entirely omitted in pictures which would otherwise be type forms of representations of the Trinity.

In the Coronation of the "Heures du Duc Louis" (PBN 9473, illustrated HD XII) where God the Father and Christ sit beside one another upon a throne, God

[1] De Rossi thinks the caged birds of the mosaic of the apse of S. Maria in Trastevere are symbols of Christ, and speaks of "il grazioso concetto della rara allegorica imagine!" MCR. Text of page preceding Pl. XXX.

[2] Didron (DI) and W. Stengel (T) give detailed studies of the Dove, The latter distinguishes three periods in describing the Dove. In the first, it hovers (schwebt) under the influence of antique forms. From the 10th to the 13th century he sees general prevalence of a one-eyed dove in quick descent (Stossflug). Third, from the 13th century, the Dove, two-eyed, "wie einst in Karolingerzeit schwebt." He suggests the possible influence of falconry upon the portrayal of the Dove.

the Holy Ghost, whom we might expect to see in like human form, is entirely lacking. His place is there, but empty.

In the "Birth of Christ" (ANF I 39) dating from the beginning of the 15th century, rays of light which proceed from God the Father, seem clearly to symbolize the Holy Ghost, the usual Dove being omitted. Oversight or heretical disregard may sometimes, as has been suggested, explain these omissions, but it seems to me more likely that at times, some artists deemed clouds, rays of light, or nothing at all, as more fitting than a Dove or human form, to symbolize an invisible spirit.[1]

In the 11th century, the Third Person of the Trinity appears in human form, and from the 15th century on, sometimes very youthful, and younger than God the Father and God the Son, but more frequently of like age and mien.

The Holy Ghost is occasionally represented in the same picture, by both human form and by the Dove. Here the Dove may be considered as an attribute of the Third Person. The Book, the torch, and tongues of flame, are other symbols.

The Nimbus

Both the nimbus of the head, and the oval-shaped nimbus of the entire figure, the aureole, are frequently found in pagan art.[1] These symbols are probably principally solar in origin, giving the glory of the sun to the being they honor. Coupled with this idea was that of the emanation of light from the head or body of a divine person. The nimbus marked with a cross, which is used as an attribute of the Deity in the West, more

[1] It was the custom to loose doves in the church, when French kings were crowned, as a symbol perhaps, of the Holy Ghost. So Didron thought, and a dove fell dead in his arms when Charles X was consecrated at Rheims in 1825! (DI I 450-451). A stuffed dove is sometimes suspended in the church, in Southern Germany, presumably as a symbol of the third Person of the Trinity. I have seen one example of this practice. If this custom could be shown to be a survival of mediæval times, the Trinities without the Dove might be explained in some cases, by supposing a stuffed dove to have been hung before them.

especially of Christ, is also a characteristic of Hindoo and Buddhist divinities.

The circle is by far the most common form of the nimbus; the triangle, star, rectangle, lozenge, polygon and cylinder are some of the more usual variants. The triangle, often a distinguishing characteristic of God the Father of the Trinity, is rare in France; frequent in Italy, and in the even more symbol-loving Greece, especially after the 15th century. ο ων are sometimes inserted in the nimbus, to distinguish the first member of the Trinity, the One who is. The square halo is commonly used to mark living persons, and this sometimes helps in dating pictures.[2] It is peculiar to Italy, and is not often found in England, Germany, Greece or Spain. In general the nimbus of a saint or angel is not marked by a cross, but ornamentation by words or letters was common, especially in Germany during the 14th century, and until the close of the 16th century. The usual abbreviations IC XC for Jesus Christ, and M P for the Mother of God, are sometimes placed in the nimbus. The nimbus is sometimes of importance in determining whether or not the figures represented are to be considered symbols of Deity. In the Catacombs, the nimbus is rarely found either in frescoes or in sculptured representations.

On the nimbus, Didron says: "The nimbus is not constantly figured around the heads of saints, in monuments belonging to a period earlier than the 11th century. The Christian nimbus is not found on well authenticated monuments anterior to the 6th century.[3] The transition from the complete absence, to the constant presence of the nimbus, was effected during the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries. The nimbus, up to the 12th century, was in the form of a disk, but fine and attenuate.

[1] There can be little question that component parts and details of representations of the Trinity were much influenced by non-Christian art. (Cf. CA-I-691: II-1534, also *"Origin of Christian Art,"* J. Strzygowski, *Burlington Magazine,* XX, 146).

[2] Examples of the use of square and hexagonal halos may be seen in the frescoes by Giotto of the lower Church at Assisi. (K. Giotto 67).

[3] For accuracy, read 4th century in place of "6th century."

During the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, the nimbus became more dense, narrower, and extending less beyond the head; it had till then, been transparent, but now became opaque." (DI I 99 ff).

Many paintings of the Renaissance returned to the representation of the nimbus as an emanation of light. The circular line and radiating rays often occur in this period.

The close of the Middle Ages often followed the first centuries of the Christian era, in omitting the nimbus entirely.

The Sign of Benediction

The position of the fingers in the Greek form of benediction, in which the thumb touches the third finger, as indicative of Byzantine influence, should be distinguished from the usual form of benediction in the West, made by extending the thumb and first two fingers. The "Byzantine Guide to Painting" from Mt. Athos, describes the Greek benediction. (DI-II-395).[1] The mosaics of the churches of Rome furnish examples of both forms of benediction which continually recur. (MCR, IX, XX: XXIV, XXVIII).

Other symbolic positions of the hand are to be found in the "Last Communion of St. Denis," by J. Malouel and H. de Bellechose of the Louvre. (p. 70). In one of these mystic signs, the thumb and fingers are extended, with the first and second, and the third and fourth fingers in contact, while the second and third fingers are separated, leaving a V shaped opening between them; in another, that of God the Father and the crucified Christ, the separation of the fingers is between the third and little fingers. The first of these gestures is said to survive in its use by superstitious Italians, as a charm against the Evil-Eye. Didron says: "The Hebrews and Pagans gave the benediction with the three fingers

[1] The original Greek of this treatise by Dionysius of Fourna-Agrapha, has been recently (1909) published by A. Papadopoulo-Kerameus, under title *"Manuel D'Iconographie Chrétienne."* The passage to which reference is made may be found on p. 226. (CU, 246, D-623).

extended: 'Digitis tria thura tribus sub limine ponit.' (Ovid.)." (DI I 411).

The double vesture is usually an attribute of Deity. A single robe for the three Persons of the Trinity is often seen, suggesting of course, the unity of those it covers. The Persons of the Trinity in human form, are usually represented with bare feet, a distinction in which the Apostles regularly share.[2]

[2]Of the Order of Trinitarians, founded 1198 under Innocent III, to liberate Christian captives, only the Barefoot Trinitarians to-day survive. (EB 27:286).

CHAPTER VI

Earliest Representations

At the opening of this chapter, it may be pertinent to inquire if there are prototypes for representations of the Christian Trinity. The world was already old when Christianity made its entrance upon the world of thought, and entirely new ideas were not likely to be presented. There are pre-Christian prototypes for almost every articles of Christian faith, and for almost all Christian symbols, but that does not mean necessarily, that Christianity borrowed from Paganism. It is hardly probable that the representations of pagan triads influenced appreciably, the more usual types of the Christian Trinity, but it is possible, or likely, that the three-membered monstrosities of pagan religious art, suggested the production of similar atrocities among Christians.

The artists who decorated the Catacombs evidently followed classical models in their work, and it is reasonable to suppose that the representations of Zeus, Hermes Criophorus, Orpheus, Athena, etc., would influence them, and in some measure their successors.

In the first centuries, as we have seen, God the Father and God the Holy Spirit were not represented. So far as we can learn from the Catacombs, from the end of the 1st century on, it was Christ the Good Shepherd that inspired the early Christians. If anyone wishes to believe that in Christ "dwelt all the fulness of the God-head bodily," (Col. II, 9) and that he was to the early Christians, the Trinity, the early pictures of the Good Shepherd may be of interest as representations of it. An example in mediæval art of a single figure representing the Trinity, will be found in the Benedictional of St. Aethelwold of the 10th century. (SA 87). This

manuscript, now in the library of the Duke of Devonshire, shows a figure of the Deity enthroned, bearing the inscription, "TRINITAS UNUS ET VERUS."

Some students of the Trinity have sought to explain the absence of representations of the Trinity in the Catacombs, by a supposed abhorrence or dislike of heathen symbols (KR I 1186), but judging from the monuments, Christians do not seem to have objected to representations and symbols for which there was a pagan prototype. According to J. P. Lundy, the "grand secret of the Mysteries of Christianity" was that of the Trinity (MCL 62), and for this reason it was not openly represented. This would accord with the interpretation of pictures of the three children in the fiery furnace as symbolic representations of the Trinity.[1]

The triangle does occur, for example, in an epitaph from St. Priscilla, perhaps of the 3rd century, but it is found rarely, and its significance is questioned. (KR I 123). Triangular forms without symbolic significance occur, seemingly by chance or unintentionally, but such representations are noteworthy rather because of their rarity, than because of their frequency of occurrence. (W Taf. 203, 217, 221).

Mention is often made of the testimony of St. Zeno, Bishop of Verona,[2] that in the first Christian centuries, medals with a triangle or three-sided figure, were given to the Christians at baptism. (KR I 379). The words of Zeno are: "denarium aureum triplicis numismatis unione signatum." Martigny accepts the usual explanation, (MA 766) but the distribution of golden coins seems hardly probable, and the meaning of the passage is too questionable to use as basis of proof of an early use of representations of the Trinity.

Whatever may have been the importance of the doc-

[1] Catacombs of S. Priscilla, 3rd century, furnish good examples. (W Taf. 13, 78). Wilpert has written at length (W I 140) upon the meaning of the frescoes of the Catacombs. Pictures such as those of the *Three Children, Noah and Daniel* were probably intended to teach the saving power of God and of Christianity.

[2] Cf. *Migne*, Pat. Lat. S. Zeno, Lib. 1, Tractatus 14. Vol. XI, col 559a, also 560d, foot-note 21.

trine of the Trinity in the first three centuries, there is no certain evidence of it in visual representations.

The textual history of the doctrine has been outlined, and there is of course, no question that the dogma was clearly defined in the 3rd century. While neither pictures nor sculpture show this, there is an inscription of the 3rd century from the catacombs of Domitilla, "upon which the most holy Trinity is mentioned," so Detzel says (DE I 154). It reads, with de Rossi's restoration:

(Iu) CVNDIANVS.. (credidit in) CRISTUM IESU (m, vivit in patr) E ET FILIO ET ISP (iritu sancto).[1] It should be noted that the three Names alone are not certain evidence of the doctrine of the Trinity, but their mention side by side in a statement of creed is an early indication of the monumental handling of the threefold object of belief.

In the Nicæan Creed, we have the victory of the teaching of Athanasius over Arianism, and the doctrine of the Trinity becomes a prime dogma of the Church. It was the end of the evolutionary period of the doctrine, and the beginning of its representation in art. At first inconspicuous and exceptional, although definite and continually becoming more important, from the 4th century on, we find this teaching in picture and in symbol, until the varieties of representation can with difficulty, be classified.

The chapters which follow, attempt a reasonable grouping of the pictures of the Trinity, convenient for purposes of study.

[1] Wilpert in *Innsbrucker Zeitschrift für Kathol. Theologie* 1888, Heft 1, S. 165. (DE).

CHAPTER VII

The Vertical Type—The Baptism

Many representations of the Trinity are not the product of a direct attempt to represent the Trinity, but rather the result of a gradual evolution. This is perhaps best illustrated by a consideration of the pictures of the Baptism of Christ, both because of the richness of materials, and because of the evident importance of the subject in the minds of the very early artists of Christian Art.

It was important to them, because from the first century baptism has been considered an imperative rite of the Church. Even Christ had been baptised, and Matt. III:16, Mark I:10, and Luke III:22 tell us that at his baptism, the Holy Spirit appeared as a dove.[1]

From the 1st century, or at latest from the beginning of the 2nd century, (TC 3, W I 257 ff.),[2] we have in the catacombs a series of pictures of the Baptism with the Dove and Christ. First in the middle of the 3rd century, the Dove is seen descending from the clouds above the head of Christ. This became the conventional position for the Dove, but the frescoes of the catacombs representing the scene, important as was its subject, are few, while the picture symbolic of Baptism are comparatively many. Of these, the Father seldom appears after the 3rd century, while the other two firmly established symbolic representations of the Baptism, viz., the healing of the palsied man at the pool of Bethesda, and

[1] The dove was of course, a common pagan symbol, and taboo among the Hebrews. (Cf. MMM).

[2] Strzygowski has written what is probably the best treatment of the Iconography of the Baptism. Wilpert is the accepted authority for the representations of the Baptism in the catacombs. A concise article with full bibliography, will be found under Baptême in Cabrol.

Moses drawing water from a rock (of which Wilpert gives more than 60 examples), continued into the 4th century. These representations, symbolic of the rite of Baptism, as well as those directly picturing the baptism of catechumens, are of course to be sharply distinguished from the representations of Chirst's baptism. When persecutions ceased, these symbolic representations declined. During the same period, representations of the Baptism of Christ became much more frequent, and developed a conventional type form, of which sarcophagi and mosaics afford abundant examples. When now in this same 4th century the hand appeared, to represent the Almighty, the materials for a representation of the Trinity were at hand, which soon appeared. Of this we have textual evidence.

Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, (353-431) writes thus of the mosaics in the apse of his own basilica of St. Felix at Nola: "cujus picturæ hi versus sunt:

Full of mystery gleams the Trinity.
Christ stands as a lamb: the voice of the father
in the heavens thunders,
And through a dove the Spirit holy floweth forth.
The cross a crown encircles with a gleaming ring;
For this crown the apostles are a crown,
Of whom the image is in a choir of doves.[1]
The holy Trinity's unity in Christ unites,
The Trinity itself having its insignia:
God is revealed by the voice paternal, and by
the Spirit:
The holy victim, the cross and Lamb confess."[2]

[1] This verse suggests the twelve doves on the cross in the apse of S. Clemente. (MCR XXIX).

[2] Pleno coruscat Trinitas mysterio,
Stat Christus agno: vox patris cœlo tonat:
Et per columbam Spiritus sanctus fluit.
Crucem corona lucido cingit globo;
Cui coronæ sunt corona apostoli,
Quorum figura est in columbarum choro.
Pia trinitatis unitas Christo coit,
Habente et ipsa Trinitate insignia:
Deum revelat vox paterna, et Spiritus:
Sanctam fatentur crux et agnus victimam.
Migne, P. L. Vol. 61, 336, Epist. S. Paulini XXXII. (CU 281.1 M61.)

It is difficult to tell just what this representation of the Trinity was, but de Rossi believes that the apse of S Marco shows a mosaic picture closely related.[1]

The mosaics of the churches of Rome[2] afford in themselves early examples of the representations of the Trinity, and because of their permanence, prominence, and artistic merit, have probably influenced other portrayals of this subject. From their nature and position, they tended to establish the convention of a central figure in the vertical axis of the composition. The catacombs with their many pictures, in which the Good Shepherd, Orpheus, or some other figure appears as the central

[1] He quotes the first three lines of Paulinus as above, and says: "Je crois donc apercevoir dans notre abside des traces d'une très ancienne manière de représenter la Trinité. En effet la main divine, au sommet, est dans l'art chrétien le signe conventional pour exprimer Dieu le père. Au milieu, à la place du Christ byzantin, il y avait probablement une grande croix gemmée dressée sur la montagne mystique. Aux pieds de la croix devait se trouver la victime, l'agneau divin, sur la tête du quel la colombe symbolique versait l'eau du baptême. Dans la mosaique actuelle, la présence de la colombe aux pieds du Sauveur, qui est figuré ouvertement et non pas sous le voile d'une image symbolique, comme aussi l' absence de relation apparente avec l'agneau me semblent être des motifs pour entre voir la reminiscence imparfaite d'une scène complète, d'une date bien antérieure. Je n'oserais toute fois pas assurer que ce fut là précisément la sujet représenté dans la mosaique exécutée par ordre de S. Marc vers l'année 336." (MCR. sub. S. Marco, p. 4).

[2] The Roman mosaics require careful and cautious use, for restorations are many, and it is quite impossible to see, even with an opera glass, details which reproductions show. Those who have made these, have in some cases had the great advantage of studying the mosaics from scaffolding, but even so, authorities differ. E. g. in the nimbus of the Lamb of the apse of S. Marco, Ciampinus saw APT, while de Rossi defends his vision of APω. (MCR sub. S. Marco, p. 4b).

Again, the apse of S. Stephano Rotondo apparently shows a most unusual vertical representation of the Trinity, with a bust of the Deity inscribed in a circle, above the Cross and just beneath the Hand. But de Rossi (sub S. Stephano, p. 5b) says the bust over the cross "e tutto modernamente dipinto sopra stucco." His phrase "modernly painted on the stucco," must of course, be understood relatively to the age of the mosaic work. Ciampinus, before 1693, wrote of this mosaic, (VMC II 111b) "Sub hac figura (hand and crown) parum intra peripheriam Salvatoris imago expressa est; sequitur deinde gemmata crux." A late Renaissance artist would be likely to be familiar with representations of the Trinity, and it would not be surprising if he intended this bust to represent the Holy Spirit, creating thereby a very unusual, and perhaps unique type. Parker, (Med. Church and Altar Decoration in Rome, and Mosaic Pictures, J. H. Parker, London, 1876), in Pl. x and accompanying description, has confused this mosaic with that of the Apse of the Lateran.

object, helped to establish the vertical type of the representation of the Trinity in connection, of course, with the evolution of the pictorial presentation of the Baptism. Strzygowski (TC) gives 169 cuts showing this development; among them are many representations of the Trinity of the vertical type with the Symbolic Hand.

The type is characteristic of Byzantine art, and was comparatively little used after the 8th century, when personal representations of God the Father became the rule. The Syrian Bible of the Monk Rabula 586, is probably the earliest example of the Trinity of the vertical type, to which a definite date can be assigned.

This type being established, we naturally expect the substitutions of symbols, which the examples catalogued illustrate. When personal representations of God the Father became current they, of course, would usually replace the Hand. Clouds with one or more stars, and elaborate sunbursts, may sometimes be seen in place of the more usual symbols of the first Person.

During the first eight centuries, Trinities of the Baptism, and other Trinities, are comparatively few in number—perhaps twice as many are to be found in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries; while in centuries that follow, representations of the Trinity without number, are to be found.

In the art of the Netherlands the Baptism is often represented, but the three Persons of the Trinity are not always shown. Nevertheless the Trinity was a favorite subject of the Lowland artists, and in the splendid picture of the St. John altar, Rogier van der Weyden gives one of the most satisfactory representations of the Trinity which the Baptism affords. Exactly in the middle, beneath a Gothic vault of gray, Christ stands in the River Jordan, which flows far away through the background, between rocky banks crowned with castles. The head of Christ inclines toward the left. He wears a short beard and curls. The right hand is raised in blessing, and with the left he holds the loin-cloth. At the left, on the bank, stands John; at the right, an angel with the mantle of Christ is kneeling. Above in the clouds in

reddish tones, God the Father is to be seen. Only the head and the upper part of the body are visible. He wears a crown. He blesses with the right hand, and in the left, bears a sceptre. From Him proceeds the scroll: "Hic est filius meus . . . . " surrounding the dove, which hovers in mid-air. At the left in the frame are Peter and Andrew, at the right James and John, who blesses with the left hand.

This Baptism, regarded as a representation of the Trinity, in comparison with all other similar representations, is noteworthy in that the three Persons are very closely related one to the other. This is accomplished partly through the frame, which serves to place God the Father lower in the picture and nearer to Christ. Drawn with satisfactory perspective, God the Father appears neither of gigantic stature, nor yet too small to possess a fitting dignity in comparison with Christ God the Father and Christ, as well as the Dove, are symmetrically represented about a vertical axis. The right hand of Christ, in a central position in the lower part of the picture, is worthy of note. The gesture of blessing is itself a symbol of the Trinity. Above, God the Father is making a similar gesture, and it occurs a third time at the right, in a figure of St. John. At the left is the cross, also a symbol of the Trinity. Further, the idea is emphasized through the red, white and blue of the Trinity. God the Father takes the characteristic red of the Holy Ghost, insomuch as the Dove must be white, while the usual blue of the second Person is shown in his mantle. The inclination of the head of Christ, suggests the cross. His hair falls in three locks. Three parted architectural features occur in the picture. Insomuch as God the Father is often omitted in pictures of the Baptism, the prominence of his representation here, combined with the details noted, make it seem likely that Rogier intentionally considered the Trinity in painting the Baptism.

Other pictures of the Netherlands representing the Baptism, show God the Father, the Dove, and Christ; among these may be mentioned those by Gerard David, Joachim Patinir and Jan van Scorel. In the picture by

the first-named artist, the Dove is strikingly large, and its connection with God the Father is emphasized through rays. The representation of the Trinity was probably in the mind of the painter, but it has not been so strongly emphasized as in the picture by Rogier. From the picture of Patinir, we should hardly miss God the Father and the Dove. In the picture by Scorel, we are not certain, at first glance, that both are there. This group of pictures shows then, a gradation from a picture of the Baptism that evidently represents the Trinity, to one of the same subject and general type, which strictly does not. Other subjects afford abundant examples of pictures, in which it is a question whether the Trinity is incidentally or intentionally presented.

An interesting variant of the vertical type, in connection with the Baptism, may perhaps be seen in a fresco of the Catacomb of St. Pontianus illustrated by Wilpert, Pl. 259. The Dove is shown directly above the nude figure of Christ, the Hand being entirely omitted. At the left, the usual attendant angel[1] presents a disk or circular fold of the robe, upon which some (MCL 62) see the Hebrew abbreviation for Jehovah. This method of representing the 1st Person of the Trinity is occasional in later art. (Cf. p. 42).

Nearly all the pictures of the Baptism of the vertical style, show the three Persons almost exactly in the vertical axis of the picture. The Dove is sometimes somewhat out of line, but not often. Diagonal representations following the earliest frescoes of the Catacombs, are rare. Such an exceptional portrayal, is to be seen in Ms. 6275 of the National Library, Paris. God the Father is shown in the upper left-hand corner of the picture, and from him the Dove flies diagonally toward the Christ. Similar is a Trinity of one of the tapestries De la Chaise Dieu. (ATH 9).

[1] In this angel, G. Allen sees "a clear Christianization of the half-pagan river god of the Ravenna compositions." (GA 360).

Pictures of Importance in the Evolution of The Vertical Type

The Catacombs

Representations of the Baptism in the Catacombs. Usually the Dove appears above the head of Christ and the figure of God the Father is not shown.

D[1]
C

Wilpert, (W II 29)[2] 1st half 2nd Century
27 2nd " " "
Wilpert, Cyklus,
Taf. I-IV Mid. 3rd "
W II 240 2nd half 4th "
II 259 6th or 7th "

Roman Mosaics

The Roman Mosaics, most important for the purposes of this study, are here catalogued for convenience of reference, although the three Persons of the Trinity are unquestionably represented in S. Marco only.

†
G
(2) D
L

(5) Mo; (8) End 4 C; (9) Rome, S. Pudenziana; (10) MCR x; (11) Ibid.

C
D
(2) †
Four Rivers

[1] For explanation of symbols see p. 138.
[2] Unless author and title are stated in the text, reference to books of the Bibliography will be made by means of the letters which precede the titles. See p. 124.

(5) Mo; (8) In part, 4 or 5 C, 1290; (9) Rome, Lateran, apsis.; (10) MCR xxvii; (11) WE 4.

P
(2) C

Symbol above the figure of C has been destroyed.

(5) Mo; (8) circ. 530; (9) Rome, S. Cosma e Damiano; (10) OP Taf. 405 b, MCR xv, VMC II pt. 2, Pl. 16; (11) WE 4.

H
(2) St. Agnes

(8) 625-638; (9) Rome, S. Agnese fuori le mura; (10) MCR 18.

H
(2) G
†

(5) Mo and Fr; (8) 648-649; (9) Rome, S. Stefano Rotondo; (10) MCR xvii.

H
(2) P
C

(5) MO; (8) 817-824; (9) Rome, S. Prassede; (10) MCR xxv; VMC II Pt. 2, Pl. 47; (11) WE 4.

Halo of Phœnix has nine points grouped in threes.

H
(2) P C

(5) Mo; (8) 822-824; (9) Rome, S. Cecilia in Trastevere; (10) MCR xxiv; VMC II Pt. 2, Pl. 52.

C
H
(2) C
D
L

(5) Mo; (8) 827-844; (9) Rome, S. Marco; (10) MCR xxviii; VMC 37.

H
(2) X Twelve doves are shown upon cross, and many birds among the ornamental volutes.

(8) Circ. 1112; (9) Rome, S. Clemente; (10) MCR xxix; (11) Ibid.

H
(2) M C

(5) Mo; (8) 12 C.; (9) Rome, S. M. in Trastevere; (10) MCR 30; (11) DE 521.

(2) M C

(4) Coronation; (5) Mv; (8) 13 C circ. 1290; (9) S. M. Maggiore; (10) MCR 39.

EXAMPLES OF THE VERTICAL TYPE OF THE TRINITY—THE BAPTISM

The symbolic Hand and Dove are shown above the figure of Christ.

H
D
C

(1) Syrian Bible; (3) Mesopotamia. The Monk Rabula; (5) Mv; (8) 586; (9) Florence, Laurentiana; (10) TC II 9; (11) TC 17.

(5) Ivory Carving; (8) 6 C; (9) BM; (10) ECA 294. An interesting example, well reproduced. (CU AO B773). Græven-Elfenbeinwerke. Series i, No. 28.

(4) Latin Miniature of Liber precum; (8) 9 C; (9) PBN Suppl. lat. 641; (10) DI 210.

(1) Sacramentarium Fuldense; (8) 10 C; (9) Fulda; (11) SF xvi.

(1) Graduel de Prüm; (8) 10C; (9) L'Abbaye de Prüm. Ms. 9448; (10) ERF I 104; (11) Ibid. 103.

(1) Executed by order of Henry II, 1002-1024 for Cathedral of Bamberg; (5) Ivory; (8) 11 C; (9) Munich; (10) ERF I 104 Pl. xxxv; (11) Ibid. 104.

(1) L'Exultet; (8) 12C; (9) Rome Bibl. de la Minerve; (10) ERF I 104; (11) Ibid. 105

(3) Andrea del Verrocchio; (5) Px; (9) Florence, Acad.; (10) FR 76, R II 374.

For other examples of this type, cf. DE 253, 255 :TC.

In the following examples God the Father and the Dove are represented above the figure of Christ.

GF
D
C

(1) Hortus deliciarum der Herrad von Landsperg; (8) 12 C; (11) DE I 248.

(3) Giotto 1266-1336; (5) Fr; (9) Padua, Arena; (10) OP 1063b, My 93

(3) School of Taddeo Gaddi 1300-1366c.; (9) LNG; (10) GA 349.

(3) Giotto; (9) FA; (10) Phot. KAS.

(3) Signorelli 1441-1523; (9) Citta di Castello; (10) R III 129.

(3) Perugino 1446-1524, and Pinturicchio 1455-1513; (5) Fr; (9) Sistine Chapel.

(3) Perugino and Pinturicchio; (5) Fr; (9) Sistine Chapel.

(3) Perugino and his pupils; (9) Foligno; (10) R II 375.

(3) Perugino 1446-1524; (5) Px; (9) Vienna, Akad.

(5) Italian wood-carving; (8) 14 C; (10) DI 542.

(3) Lorenzo Ghiberti 1378-1455; (5) Relief; (8) 1417-1427; (9) San Giovanni, Siena.

(3) Giovanni di Paolo da Siena, † 1482; (9)Collection Ch. Butler, England; (10) R I 381.

(3) School of Milan; (10) R II 377.

(3) Rosaspina, after a drawing by F. Mazzuoli; (11) WE 5.

(3) Giov. Bellini 1426-1516; (9) Vicenza, St. Corona; (10) OP 2160b.

(1) Johannesaltar; (3) Rogier van der Weyden 1400-1464; (5) Px; (6) Vert.; (9) BKF; (10) 35 ANM; (11) BKF catalogue p. 480 No. 534B.

(3) Gerard David 1460-1523; (9) Bruges Stad. Mus.; (10) ANM 83.

(3) Jan van Scorel 1495-1562; (9) BKF; (10) KFM II 165.

(3) Joachim Patinir 1500-1524; (6) Obl.; (7) .68 x .77; (10) ANM 120, Die Gal. Europas II 154, R III 130.

(3) South German artist; (8) 1427; (9) Muri-Gries; (10) VO I 50.

(3) Meister E. S.; (8) 15 C; (11) We 5.

(3) Martin Schongauer; (10) CK 357.

(3) Lucas Cranach the Younger 1515-1586; (6) Obl.; (8) 1556; (10) BO 64.

(2) GF
D
C

(3) Hans Baldung (Grien) 1475/80-1545; (8) 1510; (9) Frankfort; (10) R II 379.

(3) German Alsatian artist, following styles of Schongauer, Dürer and their school; (4) Baptism; (5) Tapestry; (8) 1595; (9) MNY.

(2) GF
D
C

(3) French School; (9) PBN fr. 6275; (10) SH II Planche 130.

Three examples of the Baptism follow, in which clouds are in the place of God the Father, above the Dove and Christ.

(8) Period of Otto III. 983-1002; (10) EO i 20.

(1) Evangeliar zu Goslar; (3) Probably German-Byzantine artist; (8) 1st half 13C; (9) Goslar; (10) GE, IV; (11) Ibid.

(1) Biblia Pauperum; (9) BM; (10) BP I.

CHAPTER VIII

The Vertical Type—Madonna and Child

In the catacombs of St. Priscilla there is to be found a fresco of the Madonna and Child, which was probably painted not later than the middle of the 2nd century.[1] The countless representations of Mary throughout the ages, testify to the interest of Christians in her, and careful studies of them are, of course, many, and to them is left the history of the evolution of the different types.[2] Introduced as the principal subject of decoration in panel or apse, it was natural to place over mother and child the symbols that were usual in representations of the baptism. The metropolitan church of ancient Capua furnishes an early example of this.[3] Here, and also in the mosaics of the Roman churches of St. Cecilia and of St. Maria in Domnica, (VMC II Pt. 2 LI XLIV), the Child is represented in the vertical axis, living a kind of conventional dignity lacking in later pictures which seem to give first honor to the Virgin. Attempts have been made to justify or to condemn the veneration of the Virgin, by an appeal to the monuments of Christian art. Without entering upon a discussion of the subject,[4] it may be worth while to consider the possible relation of representations of the Trinity.

In the 5th century the veneration of Mary, Mother

[1] (Wilpert, II, Plates 22, 81, 141 and 207 show the best examples of the Madonna.)

[2] Cf. e. g. *La Sainte Vierge* by Rohault de Fleury. 2 Vols. Paris, 1878. (CU AO R631).

[3] This important representation of the Trinity, of which Ciampinus gives a very satisfactory illustration, shows an early use of the triangular halo, of which he says: "Huius triangularis forme aliud antiquius me vidisse minime recordor." (VMC II Pt. 2, p. 168b).

[4] Cf. "The Testimony of the Catacombs and of other monuments of Christian art concerning questions of Doctrine now disputed in the Church." W. B. Marriott, London, 1870.

of God, already wide-spread, was confirmed by the Church, but pictures showing with certainty the increased and extreme devotion to the Virgin are not common before the 8th or 9th century. In one of the earliest of these, that of the church of Capua mentioned above, it may be that an attempt was made to preserve or emphasize the divinity of the Child, by making him part of a representation of the Trinity. If so, the use was not wide-spread, and in the succeeding centuries the Queen of Heaven was given extravagant honors. In the Church of St. Nicholas in Urbe, Rome, she is shown in a mosaic of the 12th century, enthroned in more than queenly glory. (TOC 54). The Hand of God is above her head, inserted as a mere ornament. Later art affords many examples of representations of the Trinity in connection with the Madonna, but the introduction of the first and third Persons usually seems incidental or forced. There is the variety we should expect in the representation of God the Father. Above the Dove, the outspread Hands of God are to be seen in the colored bas-relief by Andrea della Robbia of the National Museum, Florence.

In the Linainoli Madonna of the Uffizi, Fra Angelico used the Hebrew abbreviation[1] of the name, Jehovah, recalling the possible prototype of this device in the catacombs of St. Pontianus, mentioned below, p. 34. The Child in this picture though young, is by no means a nursling. It is noteworthy that in the countless variations of representations of the Trinity, Christ usually appears as a mature man, or as a very little child. On the altar at Sarnthein in Tyrol (p. 62), he is shown, however, as a boy. Art seems to follow the New Testament, and does not illustrate the years concerning which the Holy Writ is silent. The scene in the Temple stands out conspicuously in the New Testament narrative, but art has, un-

[1] The letters painted within a circle, resemble 17, and often arouse curiosity as to why the artist so numbered this picture. In the "Last Judgment" by Luka van Leyden, (p. 62) we find a similarity with the picture of Fra Angelico, in that God the Father is represented by his name in Hebrew, placed just above the Dove.

fortunately, illustrated it comparatively seldom. We should gladly surrender a few of the "Seats of Mercy" representing the Trinity, for pictures of Christ among the doctors, with God-father and the Dove, if must be, above!

A fine feeling for that which is fitting demands, as has been said, a representation of the Trinity which is symmetrical. If the Madonna holds a child in her arms, such a position is hardly natural. The group illustrates a human connection, and often honors Mary more, rather than less than the Child. Therefore, is it not surprising in the numberless representations of the Madonna and Child, that the Virgin is usually placed in the center of the picture, with the Child at one side, while God the Father and the Dove comparatively rarely appear? Mary was unduly honored perhaps, but in that she was not introduced into the Trinity, pictures at least, seem to say she was not deified. Artists felt apparently, that in a picture giving first honor to her, it was manifestly unfitting to attempt the representation of something to which greater honor was due, so while the three Persons may appear in a picture of Madonna and Child, the representation of the Trinity is incidental and subordinate.

In the art of the Netherlands, or in the nearly related Franco-Flemish art, there exists a picture little known, (cf. p. 46), that offers a comparatively satisfactory representation of the Trinity of this type.

Franz Wickoff ascribes this picture to a master of the Cologne School, perhaps to the School of Hermann Winrich von Wesel, who was active at the Court of Philip the Bold, at Dijon. The miniature rectangular, the picture being shown within a quatrefoil border, surrounded by flowers and ornaments on a gold ground. In the middle, before a background of leaves, Mary is seated clad in a mantle of bluish color. Her hair, which falls in locks over her shoulders, is covered in part, by a veil; with her right hand she holds a naked child in her bosom, in her left hand, flowers. The Child holds in its right hand a three-parted spray of flowers to St. Barbara, who kneels with folded hands, before him. Behind

her is the characterizing tower, and opposite at the right as pendant, St. Catherine kneels upon her wheel and sword, with arms crossed upon her breast. Between the two, somewhat lower, kneels St. Elizabeth, and feeds from a bowl a little old man in rags, who kneels before her. Two angels hold a large crown over the head of Mary. At the left, and somewhat lower, are four angels, who hold a book before the Child. Above, before a tapestry-like background, God the Father is to be seen surrounded by praying angels. His left hand is raised, with the gesture of the Latin benediction. Between God the Father and the head of the Child, are beams and the Dove which is flying downward. God the Father, the Child, Mary, Barbara and Catherine, are each represented with a large halo. The attempt in this picture to establish a connection between the three Persons of the Trinity compels attention. By means of the Dove, in its downward flight, and the rays of light, this has been accomplished. That the idea of the Trinity was in the mind of the artist, the three parted objects which appear in the picture bear witness. The nimbuses of Mary, Barbara and Catherine form a triangle which would not be possible if Elizabeth were represented with a nimbus. Comparison with other pictures of this type reveals the skill and good sense of the artist who painted the "Mary as Heaven's Queen" of the Innsbruck Gallery.

The familiar canvas by Murillo, "Jesus and Mary with Elizabeth and John," of the Louvre, (K 10 73) avoids most of the faults of this type, although its figures are so human that, appealing as they may be, they fail to give the impression of divinity or dignity, imparted by some of the older representations of the Trinity. With his head slightly higher than that of the Virgin, the Child is shown in the center of the picture, the object of paternal benediction, maternal affection, and reverent worship, on the part of Eizabeth and John; so that with the Dove and God the Father directly above, there is constituted a representation of the Trinity that is unified and consistent, as well as beautiful, by that grace of loveliness of which Murillo was master.

In the glorious canvas of the Spedale degli Innocenti, Florence, "The Adoration of the Magi" by Domenico Ghirlandajo, a definite significance is given to the cloud and radiating lines, as representative of God the Father, by the scroll of the four angels just beneath, which bears the words "Glory be to God on high." The Holy Spirit is indicated by descending flames, whose tripartite character evidently emphasizes the idea of the Trinity. The hand of the Child, raised in benediction with the usual sign, further presents the idea of the Trinity. Few pictures are more splendid in color, and more interesting in imagery than this picture, in which the Trinity is suggested through inconspicuous, though certain symbols.[1]

EXAMPLES

God the Father and the Dove, represented above the Madonna and Child.

GF
D
M Cc

(8) End 8 C or beg. 9 C; (9) Capua; (10) VMC II Pt. 2, Pl. liv, p. 166; (11) The Dove is represented with triangular halo.

(3) Angelo Gaddi, 1333-1396; (9) Album Toscanelli-Replica of a fresco of Santa Croce, Florence; (10) R I 191.

(3) Fra Angelico 1387-1455; (4) Madonna Linaiuoli; (9) Florence, Uffizi; (10) OP1413b: MY 151; (11) God the Father is represented by the Hebrew symbol of his name Javeh.

(3) Andrea della Robbia, 1435-1525; (4) Madonna with Child; (5) Bas-relief; (9) Mus. Nazionale, Florence; (10) OP 1330a; (11) God the Father is represented by two outspread hands.

[1] For a discussion of this picture, cf. *"Die Darstellung der Heiligen Drei Könige,"* by N. Hamilton, Strassburg, 1901, p. 68.

(3) Sassetta; (8) Circ. 1428; (9) Berlin, BKF 63 B; (10) KFM I 62.

(3) Antonio da Negroponte; (4) Madonna col Bambino; (9) Venice, S. Francesco della Vigna; (10) SDA 7, 3 311; (11) Ibid. 302.3; This picture is extremey ornate.

(3) S. di Bartolomeo Vivarini; (4) Vergine col Bambino; (9) Milan, Mus. Poldi Pezzoli; (10) SDA 7 3 342.

(3) Antonio Vivarini da Murano; (8) 1470; (9) Berlin, BKF Nr. 5; (10) KFM I 100, GDF 147.

(3) Attributed to Carel v. Mander 1558-1606; (4) Marriage of St. Catherine; (9) Norfolk, Eng. Col. of Lord Amherst; (10) R II 677.

(3) Meister der kölnischen Schule; (Schule des Hermann Wynrich von Wesel?) (4) Mary as Queen of Heaven; (5) Tempera on parchment; (8) Beg. 15 C.; (9) Innsbruck, Gemälde-Gal. des Ferdinandeums Nr. 54; (10) VO I 108.

(3) Stephan Lochner; (4) Maria in Rosenhag; (5) Px; (8) Mid. 15C.; (9) Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum; (10) 13 Alt. D. Malerei.

(3) Martin Schongauer 1450-1488; (9) Munich, Coll. Sepp.; Replica, Mrs. Jack Gardner, Boston; (10) R I 186.

(3) Meister der hl. Sippe; (8) 1485-1515; (9) Berlin, Coll. Mme de Carstanjen; (10) R II 355, MWM Taf. 12, 7.

(3) A. Dürer, 1471-1528; (4) Die hl. Familie mit der Heuschrecke; (8) Before 1495; (10) KDK 91.

(3) A. Dürer; (4) Die hl. Anna u. Maria; (8) Before 1500; (10) KDK 108.

(3) A. Dürer; (4) Die h. Familie mit fünf Engeln; (8) Before 1506; (10) KDK 222.

(3) In style of A. Dürer. Possibly a copy of one of his drawings by an Italian pupil. According to Thausing (Dürer, II, 2, s. 80) a composite counterfeit by Egidius Sadler; (8) 1522; (10) KDK 343.

(3) Hans Memling? 1430-1495; (4) Maria auf der Mondsichel; (9) Chantilly, Museum Condé; (10) KDK Memling 154.

(3) Murillo; (4) The Virgin of Seville; (8) Circ. 1670; (9) Louvre; (10) KDK.

CHAPTER IX

The Vertical Type—Mary Adoring the Child

In the pictorial expression of the Trinity, in connection with the adoration of the infant Child by Mary, which we find first in the 15th century, we meet a type for the evolution of which, the pictures of preceding centuries afford no clue, except of course, in the familiar symbols for God the Father and God the Holy Spirit, which are combined with an entirely new portrayal of the Nativity. It is necessary therefore to turn to literary sources for an explanation of these new styles in pictures

The Hebrew scriptures, the New Testament writings and the Apocryphal gospels, the Golden Legend and various Encyclopedias are probably the writings which most influenced the art of the 15th century, and also the Mystery plays,[1] at this time attaining prominence. The dramatization of Bible stories would naturally help in the development of those naturalistic and realistic tendencies with which the art of the 15th century is marked. We see definite evidence of this, and of the minute descriptions of Bonaventura in the pictures of the Nativity and of the Trinity, as well as in other subjects of the 15th century miniatures, and paintings. For example, in the Nativity (SDA VII 1 p. 199) by Gentile da Fabriano of the Belle Arti, one of the earliest pictures of the subject to break away from the traditional presentation of it, we see the artist's translation of Bonaventura's words. Joseph sits apart, evidently "grieving that it was not in his power to provide what was fitting for such a time" (LOCB 22).

There is no mistaking the attitudes and intentions

[1] Cf. E. Male, *Le Renouvellement de l'art par les* "Mystéres." GB 31 89, 215, 283, 379.

MARY ADORING THE CHILD
FRA FILIPPO LIPPI

of the ox and ass, who "with bended knees, and with their heads placed over the manger, breathed upon Him, as if they were gifted with reason, and knew that their warm breath would be of service to an infant sc slightly protected from the severity of the season." (Ibid).

This 15th century representation of the Nativity is more properly named, it seems to me, "Mary adoring the Child," and this name is, of course, often given to it. It seems especially fitting when the symbols of the first and third Persons of the Trinity are placed above the Child. Mary then kneels not only before a little Child, but also in the presence of a Mystery, in contemplation or in adoration of which, other figures are often added They give a certain raison d'être for the appearance of the Trinity and increase the onlookers' satisfaction in the picture. Like the Trinity of the Madonna and Child, this type is open to the objection that the figures of God the Father and of the Child can hardly be considered alike in godly dignity, but the strength of the criticism is lessened by the fact that the Christ-child is here not simply an object of human love. So far as years are concerned, those of infancy and of age are alike in comparison with Infinity, and from an æsthetic standpoint, many perhaps would regard man in infancy, a more fitting symbol of Deity than man in maturity.

In the representations of the Trinity under consideration, the three symbols are arranged in a vertical line, and often through their close relation, brought about by the size and position of the Dove and by the treatment of the rays of light, a degree of unity is attained. This is seen in the triptychon of the Berlin Museum by the Meister von Frankfort, related to the art of the Netherlands at the beginning of the 16th century. A noteworthy picture of this style is to be found in the "Très-riches Heures du Duc de Berry." The birth of Christ according to the description of St. Bonaventura, is the subject of the picture. Among the Spanish examples may be mentioned the Holy Family by Murillo.

In the picture of this type by Fra Filippo Lippi in Florence, God the Father is represented by the symbol

of the outspread Hands; in a similar but much more beautiful picture by the same artist in the Berlin gallery, the usual figure of an aged man is employed. If this is not the greatest representation of the Trinity, it deserves to be known because of the way in which it shows a mother saying her prayers.

Examples

God the Father and the Dove are usually represented in the vertical axis of the picture above the Child, before whom Mary kneels in adoration.

GF
D
Cc

(3) Filippo Lippi, 1406-1469; (4) Mary Adoring the Child; (5) Px; (9) Florence Belle Arti; (11) God the Father is represented by outspread hands.

(3) Fra Filippo Lippi; (4) Mary Adoring the Child; (5) Px; (9) Berlin, BKF.

(3) Pietro di Domenico, 1457-1501; (5) Px; (9) Siena, Belle Arti.

(1) Très riches Heures du Duc de Barry; (4) Mary and Joseph Adoring the Child; (8) 15C; (9) Chantilly; (10) HC XXXII. GB 1904 p. 93.

(1) Triptych with Kathrina and Barbara in wings; (3) Meister von Frankfurt 1500-1520 fl.; (5) Px; (8) 1500-1520; (9) BM575; (10) KFM II 24.

(3) Flemish School; (5) Px; (8) circ., 1530; (9) Strasburg 26; (10) R III 309.

(3) School of Burgundy; (4) Nativity; (5) Px; (10) R II 85.

(1) St. Thomas Altar; (3) Meister Francke; (4) Birth of Christ; (5) Px; (8) 1420-1430; (9) Hamburg, Kunsthalle; (10) Alt. D. M. 8.

(3) Giovanni della Robbia; (4) Birth of Christ; (9) Florence, Bargello; (10) OP 135la. My. 224.

(4) Murillo; (4) The Holy Family; (5) Px; (8) 1681-1682; (9) London, Nat. Gal.; (10) KDK 195.

(3) Murillo; (4) Holy Family; (5) Px; (8) Before 1642; (9) Munich, Gal. Heinemann; (10) KDK 5.

CHAPTER X

The Vertical Type—The van Eyck Altar: La Disputa

At the beginning of the 15th century the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist was without the circlet of ten chapels which now surrounds the Choir of the Cathedral of St. Bavon, as it is called to-day, the most imposing of the churches of Ghent. In 1420, Jodocus Vydts provided for the erection of one of these chapels, that he might have a place of private worship and burial for him and his. Hubert and Jan van Eyck worked for half a dozen years or more, and in 1432 the "wonder-work of Ghent," the polyptych they wrought for the altar of this chapel, was completed. The description of this great work of Flemish art, and the discussion of most of its problems must be left to the scholars who have written upon it. As a representation of the Trinity, it merits, it seems to me, more attention than it has received. That it has received so little, is probably due in part to the often quoted description of Crowe and Cavalcaselle,[1] still retained in Bædeker's hand-book of Belgium and Holland (edition of 1910), which describes the central figure as that of Christ. Modern authorities agree in seeing a representation of God the Father, but as late as 1898, the question was apparently not definitely settled, for the English edition of Kugler's history of Flemish painting published then, is ambiguous upon this point.[2] It once refers to the figure as "Triune God," which seems to me suggestive. Without entering upon any argument of the question, the fact stands that modern

[1] *"Lives of the Early Flemish Painters,"* Crowe and Cavalcaselle, London, 1879, p. 50.

[2] Handbook of Painting, German, Flemish and Dutch Schools. Kugler and Waagen. Revised by J. A. Crowe, London, 1898, p. 57. In noting the inscriptions of the picture. Reinach says: "Sur la poitrine: Sabaoth, preuve qu'il s'agit bien de Dieu le Père et non de Jésus." R II 1.

LA DISPUTA
RAPHAEL

THE ALTAR-PIECE AT GHENT
HUBERT AND JAN VAN EYCK

students of this picture have been in doubt as to which member of the Godhead reference is made in the words above the throne: "Hic est Deus Potentissimus." It seems to me possible that the artists who conceived this remarkable group of pictures, and who worked so many years upon them, intentionally painted a figure that might at once represent both God the Father and God the Son.[1] The ornate tiara suggests the glory of the Almighty Father, while the less stately Crown placed at the foot of the throne, suggests the Crown of martyrdom, which was the part of Divinity Incarnate. The place of the figure between Mary and John suggests Christ, while the position above the Dove and the Lamb indicates a representation of God the Father. The Roman mosaics may have influenced the van Eycks, and the apse of S. Marco may be regarded as a possible prototype, for it shows a human figure representing Divinity, a Dove, a Lamb, and sacred waters, in the same relative positions in the vertical axis of the picture. The van Eycks were, of course, familiar with representations of the Trinity and would naturally consider the problem of its presentation here. The lower part of their altar piece is of much smaller scale than that of the upper portion, whose figures are approximately life size. The Lamb, pouring forth its blood into the chalice, and the pictured altar would not be seen by the kneeling worshippers, when the priest was before the altar, although at other times they might suggest it. Is it not reasonable to suppose that the figure above, was intended to be part of a Trinity completed by the ministering priest, the vicar of Christ, who would hold above his head the monstrance with its sacred Host? Above, God the Father, God the Son: the Dove proceeding from them: and below complete Divinity in the Mass! Such interpretation of this picture may seem unduly forced, but its theory is at least strengthened by a consideration of La Disputa of the Camera Della Segnatura.

It would be quite impossible, I think, to prove that

[1] Precedent for one figure representing more than one Person of the Trinity is found in picture noted on p. 26.

Raphael knew the altar-piece at Ghent, or the apse of S. Marco, but that he studied both in creating his masterpiece, seems to me most likely. If so, he saw the ambiguity in the enthroned figure of God of the Ghent altar-piece, and if he needed a hint to replace it by two figures, the apse of S. Marco might have furnished it, for it shows two figures of God, separated one from the other by a circular arc.[1] Perhaps Raphael saw the marvelous idea of the van Eycks' Trinity and also its defects. Instead of the ambiguous figure of enthroned Diety, he used distinct and equally glorious figures of God the Father and God the Son. He retained the general arrangement, but wrought the twelve panels of the van Eycks' into one harmonious whole. Insomuch as his was not an altar-piece and there could be no real altar and no priest consecrating the Host, he painted an altar of a size commensurate with the figures of God the Father and God the Son. Upon it is the monstrance with the Host, which seems to gather into itself, and tc unify with its circle of light, the idea of the triune God, which is portrayed above.

Raphael had painted the Trinity (Cf. p. 62) before, for it was the subject of his first fresco in S. Severo at Perugia. From this picture and from the "Last Judgment" by Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli in S. Maria Nuova at Florence, he incorporated certain elements in his conceptions of La Disputa,[2] but they are not a source for the principal ideas of this picturing of the triune God.

The Peretola tabernacle (p. 57), which was made by Luca della Robbia for the Chapel of S. Luca in the Church of the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova, Florence, has the same arrangement of the three Persons as La Disputa, and was probably not without influence in the design of that picture.

The mosaic of the apse of St. John Lateran may

[1] If we see a connection between the mosaic of the apse of S. Marco and the description of Paulinus, (cf. p. 30) there is a link between La Disputa and that early Trinity of the church of Nola.

[2] Cf. GA 309.

also be considered as a possible influence, in that the Dove is directly beneath the picture of Christ. The clouds and cherubim above, may symbolize God the Father, completing a representation of the Trinity.

The glory of God the Father is brought about in La Disputa, through his position high in the splendor of heaven, and through the real dignity of the figure. On either side, three angels and seven times three rays of golden cherubim, blazen forth the glory of the Father. Christ is beneath, but also in heaven, upon a throne of clouds. He is closely related to God the Father, and of the same stature and dignity. His enthronement, the circular aureole suggesting his eternal nature, and the similar golden background, serve to balance his glory with that of the other two Persons of the Trinity. With matchless vision of the fitness of things, Raphael placed the Dove representing the Holy Ghost, also in heaven, with the same golden background as that behind the figures of God the Father and of Christ. The work of the Holy Ghost upon earth is suggested by the downward flight of the Dove, and by the direction of the descending rays of light. Raphael knew that the first function of the Holy Ghost upon earth is to teach, therefore he surrounded the Dove with the four books of the evangelists. By this means, personality is added to the spiritual concept which the Dove symbolizes, "who proceedeth from the Father and the Son; who, together with the Father and the Son, is adored and glorified; who spake by the prophets."

Upon an earthly altar beneath, in the vertical axis of the picture stands the Host, to which the teaching Dove directs the line of vision. Whether one believes in the Sacrament of the Altar or not, this stroke of genius demands our reverence. Raphael believed, and through his belief produced a device which gives unity and close relation to the members of the Trinity depicted, which is hardly equaled elsewhere. A masterly invention is the uplifted arm near the Host, conspicuous against the heavens, which points to the triune God above, and directs not only the glance of Ambrose but also that of all

who view the picture away from the altar to the Trinity which this picture really deifies. As a representation of the Trinity from the standpoint of the Catholic Church this picture leaves little to be desired. The faces of God the Father and of Christ are necessarily unsatisfactory but reduced to the size of a miniature,[1] a pleasing veil of indistinctness is thrown over them.

In order to compare the Trinity of the brothers van Eyck with that of Raphael, we should make use of reproductions, which will make the principal figures approximately the same size, and preferably those which are so small that the eye may easily take in the picture in its entirety. The relation of the pictures, which the following description, applicable to both, seeks to establish, is then felt most strongly. The front view of the complete Altar-piece of St. Bavon, and La Disputa are considered.

A representation of the Trinity, the ratio of whose height to breadth is about as three is to five, is divided into an upper and a lower portion. In the middle, vertical axis, in the upper part of the picture, under human form, with gesture of blessing, God the Father is enthroned. At the left and right respectively, sit Mary and St. John and turn with deictic gestures toward the middle. Further right and left are angels and conspicuous personages of Bible history. At the left a figure of Adam is to be found. Beneath and in the middle, before a background with trees and buildings, upon a rectangular altar, stands the symbol of the broken Body of Christ, which right and left is surrounded by groups of religious and laity. Above the altar, exactly in the vertical axis, is to be seen the Dove with nimbus and rays, which through their position serve to bind the two parts of the picture together.

[1] A small reproduction of a large picture of the Trinity may be in some respects more satisfactory than the original. Miniatures and comparatively small pictures are well adapted to represent the Trinity, because their size allows the eye to grasp the representation as a whole while the face of God is symbolized and indicated rather than distinctly portrayed. In a comparison of large paintings with the pictures of the Trinity of miniature painters, if we are to be just to both, we should compare reproductions similar in size.

This general description by no means establishes relationship between the two great masterpieces under consideration, but it does support the possibility or probability of it.

Any superlative characterization in art is relative to so many things, as to be indicative principally of individual feeling and general impressions. It is, however, safe and perhaps worth while to affirm that La Disputa is one of the greatest pictures ever produced south of the Alps, and that the Ghent altar piece is one of the greatest pictures of the more northern climes. This chapter aims, through a study of the representations of the Trinity, to point out a possible connection between these pictures. If this were certain, maybe E. Muntz would agree that the greatest glory of Hubert and Jan van Eyck was to have helped in the creation of La Disputa, for in his study of this picture, he says:[1] "Such is this famous composition, which is deservedly regarded as the highest expression of Christianity in painting, and the most perfect summary of the fifteen centuries of faith comprised between the frescoes of the Catacombs and those of the Florentine realists. It is more than a masterpiece of art, it marks an epoch in the development of humanity."

THE VAN EYCK ALTAR, LA DISPUTA AND OTHER RELATED EXAMPLES

The mosaic of the apse of S. Marco is noted on p: 36.

(1) Altar-piece.

(2) G
D
Altar with Lamb and chalice.

(3) Hubert and Jan van Eyck; (4) Adoration of the Lamb; (5) Px; (8) 1424?—6 May, 1432; (9) Ghent, St. Bavon; (10) HOP I 56: K Hubert and Jan van Eyck.

(3) Luca della Robbia; (5) Marble Tabernacle;

[1] Raphael, E. Muntz. N. Y. A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1882, p. 327.

(8) 1441-1443; (9) Peretola, S. Maria; (10) LDR 62; (11) Ibid.

(1) La Disputa.

(2) GF
C
D
Monstrance.

(3) Raphael; (5) Fr; (8) 1508-1511; (9) Rome, Vatican; (10) HOP II 489 : LS 272.

CHAPTER XI

The Vertical Type—Divers Subjects Including Representations without Anthropomorphic Symbols.

Excepting the Ghent altar-piece, La Disputa, and representations with Christ upon the Cross, all remaining pictures of the Trinity having the symbols of the three Persons in a vertical line, are placed under this heading. The three members of the Trinity are shown in pictures representing various scenes, but that the idea of presenting the doctrine of the Trinity was in the mind of the artist, we may often question. In general, they are related to the types already considered, but they do not occur sufficiently often to bring about established conventions. The introduction of God the Father and the Dove into a picture depended therefore upon the individual artist and the composition of the picture. The examples noted, indicate the variety of subjects and of symbols to be found in this group.

The Transfiguration, in connection with the representations of the Trinity, is noteworthy in that it represents one of the two occasions, when, according to the traditions of the Church, God the Father and God the Holy Ghost were manifested in the presence of the Incarnate Son. The prevalence of the Trinity of the Baptism shows how well the Church visualized the description of John, x. The comparative rarity of representations of God the Father and of God the Spirit above Christ in pictures of the Transfiguration, may be due in part, to the fact that the visible presence of the Holy Spirit is not definitely stated by New Testament writers. St. Bonaventura is specific, and says in chapter 41 of the "Meditations on the Life of Christ" that "The Holy Spirit too, was present there, under the appearance of

a bright cloud, ..." (L C. B 152). Perhaps he had seen or heard of the mosaic of the apse of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna (p. 62) and interpreted the bright cloud of that splendid mosaic as a representation of the Holy Spirit. Such it seems to me it surely is, and with the Hand above and the Cross below, there is constituted the one uniquely great representation of the Trinity of this type, namely, that in which no personal elements enter into the symbolism. This is in harmony with the symbolic representation of Peter and of James and John by sheep.

A few years earlier than the apse of S. Apollinare is the Trinity of the lower arcade of the Presbytery of S. Vitale, directly opposite the familiar representation of Abraham entertaining three Angels, which is discussed below. Upon an altar, between two hosts, stands the chalice, directly beneath the clouds of the Spirit and the Hand of God above. At the left, Abel offers a lamb; at the right, Melchisedec presents his sacrifice. This mosaic fills the semi-circular lunette beneath an arch spanning three smaller arches below. The architectural symbolism thus supports that of the picture.

An interesting example of representation of the three Persons by impersonal symbols, is to be found I believe, in an antique lamp, illustrated in Bartoli (LA 60). The Dove sits perched upon the monogram of Christ, forming with it the handle of the lamp. The bowl is round, unornamented, with one round opening in the center, suggesting an intentional representation of the eternity of God the Father, and thus forming with the Dove and Cross an unusual emblem of the Trinity.

Montault says, "The Greeks have created a special type for the Trinity: a book is placed upon a throne before a cross (adossé à une croix). The throne symbolizes the Father; the cross the Son, and the book the Holy Spirit, who has spoken by the sacred authors, who owe to him their inspiration" (IBM II 30). No example of this has come under my notice.

The reredos of the Chapel of St. Ambrose, in the Cathedral of St. John The Divine, New York city, af-

fords a modern example of symbolic representation of the Trinity.[1] Above in the vertical axis, the Eye of God is shown within a triangle, inscribed in a circle surrounded by a sunburst. Beneath this emblem, the Dove of the Spirit hovers just above the Cross.

Examples

Divers subjects; the symbol or figure of God the Father being represented above the Dove and Christ.

G
D
C

(1) Ms. de St. Gregoire Nazianze.

H
(2) D
C

(4) Transfiguration; (5) Mv; (8) 9 C; (9) PBN fonds grec. No. 510; (10) ERF ii 72; (11) Ibid. 71.

(3) Greek Artist; (8) 14 C; (10) TW 78.

(3) Greek Artist; (4) Christ as the Grand Archbishop; (8) 16 C; (10) DI 312: I 306.

(1) Très riches Hueres du Duc de Berry; (4) Feeding of the Five Thousand; (9) Chantilly; (10) HC LX.

(3) School of Hans Memling 1430-1494; (4) Saint Christopher; (5) Px; (6) Vertical with lunette above; (7) 41 x 24; (9) Dresden 802; (10) Braun 1843.

[1] The arch at the entrance to this chapel also shows a representation of the Trinity. Upon the intrados of the keystone is the Dove, chiseled in bas-relief. Below the left springer is a medallion of God the Father, and directly opposite, one of the Lamb.

(4) Christ among the Disciples; (10) MM 23.

(1) The Thomas Altar; (3) Master of the Bartholmäus Altar; (5) Px; (6) Three vertical panels; (9) Cologne. Wallraf-Richartz Museum; (10) ANM 191.

(3) Hans Baldung (Grien) 1471-1546; (10) MH 76: BR vii 314, No. 43.

(6) Triptychon; (9) Sarntheim in Tyrol; (10) CK 27; (11) CK 32.

Hebrew name of God
D
(2) C

(3) Lucas van Leyden, 1494-1533; (4) The Last Judgment; (5) Px; (9) Leyden. City Museum; (10) ANM 148.

(3) P. P. Rubens; (4) The Last Judgment. Copy from a sketch of Rubens for the great picture of the Munich Pinakothek; (5) Px; (6) Vertical; (9) Dresden 958A; (10) KDK 108.

(3) P. P. Rubens; (4) The great "Last Judgment"; (5) Px; (8) 1615-1616; (9) Munich. Alte Pinakothek; (10) KDK 107.

(3) Raphael; (5) R.'s first fresco; (9) Perugia. S. Severo; (10) HOP II 479.

Examples of representations of the Trinity without anthropomorphic elements.

H
(2) Clouds
†

(4) Transfiguration; (5) Mo; (9) Ravenna. S. Apollinare in Classe; (10) ABI 5.

H
(2) Clouds
Chalice

(4) Offerings of Abel and Melchisedec; (5) Mo; (8) 536-547; (9) Ravenna. S. Vitale; (10) ABI 11.

Sunburst with circle and triangle
(2) Dove
Cross

(10) Altar of St. Ambrose Chapel, Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York.

CHAPTER XII

The Vertical Type—The Crucifixion

The cross is the symbol of Christianity and the crucifixion is probably the event of sacred history, which through picture and crucifix have been most often represented. One might presume that as in pictures of the Baptism, the Madonna and Child, and other subjects, the Dove and God the Father are placed in the upper part of the representation, so we should find them similarly placed in portrayals of the crucifixion, which would seem to lend itself readily to a vertical arrangement of the three members of the Trinity. To be sure, this does occur; but comparatively seldom, except in representations of the Throne of Grace considered below, in the best examples of which the crucifixion is a symbol of Christ's sacrifice, rather than a realistic portrayal of his suffering. The awful, dramatic action of the crucifixion, does not seem to combine fittingly with a theme which is an expression of dogmatic theology. God the Father and the Dove may hover in compassion over the crucified Son, as incidental to the Crucifixion, but so far as a representation of the Trinity is concerned, it is not natural to think of one in the agony of suffering as equal in power and glory with God the Father in the heavens. Perhaps the crucifixion appeals to artistic sense as a subject too big in itself to admit of the insertion of the conventional bust of God the Father, and the Dove of the Spirit. At about the same time that the crucifixion gained prominence, in part through the general use of the crucifix in worship and devotions, the representations of the enthroned God-Father were developed. It was easy to combine these subjects, and the popularity of the resulting picture, designated as the Throne of Grace would militate against the use of a less satisfac-

tory combination of symbols. The Russian Church of today, uses crucifixes and pictures in which the Dove and a bust of God the Father are shown above the crucified Christ. This representation of the Trinity seemed to be the religious picture most generally purchased by the Russian pilgrims in Jerusalem a few years ago.

In mediaeval art, much the most usual representation of the Trinity with the crucifixion, is that in which God the Father enthroned, holds before him the crucified Christ, while between them the Dove of the Spirit hovers, or rests upon the Cross. Under the different influences of the many civilizations which lay about the Mediterranean Sea, distinct types of representations of Deity appear. That there is any connection between the nude, male, standing figure of Greek divinity and the naked Christ of early Christian art, would hardly be maintained; that a prototype for the Madonna and Child is to be found in pre-Christian art, is a possibility. On the other hand, it seems probable that the sitting figure of divinity of classic art has exerted an appreciable influence upon Christian art. The most significant representation of Deity by the Greeks, was the sitting figure of Zeus by Phidias, which still existed in early Christian times (GG I 43). The idea of God upon his throne occurs often in the old Testament, and it is possible that divinity so represented, gives best the idea of dignity and power. In the representation of God the Father, the sitting figure is found upon the Vatican sarcophagus of the 4th century (DE I 57), and in the Benedictional of St. Athelwold. In the 12th century the sitting figure of God the Father, and crucifixion, were placed together.[1] Before the Judge of the world upon his throne, between him and the onlooker, there was placed the crucified Saviour, the mediator between God and man.

The German expression "Gnadenstuhl" or its Eng-

[1] Earlier examples may occur. Cf. Detzel, p. 62, foot-note (DE). "Nach Atz (Die Christliche Kunst in Wort und Bild, 2 Aufl., Bozen 1884, S. 87) käme diese Auffassung schon in einem Codex (in der k. k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien) 'wohl irischen Ursprungs,' vom. 6. Jahr hundert vor . . . Nach der Abbildung bei Atz halte ich das Bild für spätern, vielleicht byzantinischen Ursprungs."

lish equivalent, Throne of Grace is restricted in this study, to designate representations of God the Father, usually enthroned, holding the crucified Christ before him. It is also sometimes applied to pictures, showing God the Father holding the dead body of Christ, which are considered in a subsequent chapter. The Trinity of the Throne of Grace apparently met with favor, and was widely used. Through the exquisite beauty of many miniatures of this type, and also through their small size, one easily forgets the inherent features of this design, which are often disagreeable, and which make all such representations of the Trinity, aesthetically regarded, decidedly unsatisfactory. To place the cross directly in front of the seated God-Father without hiding him, was difficult if the two figures were of the same size. Therefore, God-Father was often represented as a giant, with the pygmy Christ before him. The Trinity of the Seat of Mercy is sometimes known as the Italian Trinity (CL 12). Its use was, however, widespread, and especially interesting examples are to be found in northern art. In the Prado is to be found "The Holy Barbara" by Meister von Flemalle. Over the chimney in the picture, is a small plastic group representing the Trinity. It is a variant of the Throne of Grace, because there is no throne. God the Father, represented as a monstrous old man more than three meters high, stands upon a pediment, and holds before him the crucified Christ. In the middle on the cross, the Dove is placed in downward flight. The small size of this representation, and its inconspicuous position in the picture, diminish the repulsive characteristics, which are much more prominently seen in the Trinity of similar style by Patinir. Of this type, by far the most splendid example which I have seen, is that by Granacci in the Berlin Gallery. The round form of this picture emphasizes the idea of unity, and brings with it the usual symbolic suggestions of eternity and immortality. It is one of the very few great canvases devoted solely to the representation of the Trinity, and as such, it seems to me to merit more renown than it enjoys.

Pictures following the general design of the Throne of Grace are occasionally found. In the Psalter of Landgrave, Hermann of Thuringia, 1211-1213, Lazarus replaces the crucifix (WMM 44). In a painting by Spinello Aretino, 1333-1410, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, the place of God the Father is taken by Mary Magdalene who holds the crucified Christ before her.

The representations of the Trinity of the Trone of Grace and the portrayals of the crucifixion where God the Father and the Dove are incidentally introduced, constitute distinct types, but they merge one into the other. In the Trinity by Albertinelli in the Belle Arti (p. 73) for instance, the crucifixion is realistically represented, yet the seated figure of God the Father appears behind the cross, so placed that the picture may be classified as a Trinity of the Throne of Grace type. Among the pictures intermediate between the two types under discussion, especially noteworthy, is "The Last Communion of St. Denis" by J. Malouel (p. 70). The three Persons of the Trinity, as well as the crucifixion, are shown, but the main theme is neither Trinity nor crucifixion, but rather the martyrdom of Denis. God the Father appears above and behind the cross, neither as the giant of the Throne of Grace, nor yet as though incidentally introduced into the composition, as is often the case.

The rectangular picture is divided into three scenes. At the left, Christ richly clad, stands in profile, turning toward the left. In the left hand he holds the Chalice of the Sacrament, and with the right, with gesture of blessing he gives the Host to St. Denis, whose head covered with a Bishop's mitre, and the upper part of whose body, are to be seen at the barred window of the lower story of a small prison. At the left in the corner, an angel-server of the altar kneels before Christ, and behind him a second is to be seen. In the right hand portion of the picture, in priestly robes similar to those of Christ, turning toward the left, kneels St. Denis. His half-severed head rests upon the block. Near him are the deacons, Rusticus and Eleutherius. One lies before him on the ground, his head severed from his body. Behind him, at the

right, stands the other, his hands bound. Between this figure and St. Denis, the executioner stands with uplifted ax. Behind him are five standing figures. The foremost turns his head to the others, making a symbolic gesture by extending his right hand toward the cross, the second and third fingers being separated, while the first and second, and third and fourth, are in contact.

In the middle portion of the picture stands the crucified Christ. Above the cross appears the upper part of the body of God the Father surrounded with cherubim. He lifts his hands with the gesture of blessing, which both hands of the crucified Christ also show.[1] The Dove hovers between the heads of God-Father and Christ.

The gesture of blessing of God-Father in this picture, is significant. Instead of holding the cross, he raises his hands in fleeting gesture, which emphasizes the transitory character of the entire picture. The oblique position of God-Father, the Dove and Christ, directs the glance to the Sacrament—to Christ upon earth. This recalls the office of God the Father, Christ and the Dove, in La Disputa, where the conjoined being of triune Deity seems to settle down upon the Host of the Altar.

The crucified Christ constitutes not only a representation of the crucifixion, but also with God the Father and the Dove, portrays the Trinity, thus giving a more detailed expression of Christianity, for which St. Denis is dying. The gesture of the Jewish priest serves to emphasize the vicarious suffering of Christ. He stands as the scapegoat of the new dispensation. The gesture of blessing, which both his hands show, emphasizes not only the Trinity but also his priestly office.

An unusual and noteworthy representation of the Trinity of the Vertical type related to the Crucifixion, is to be seen in the so-called "Rosary" by Veit Stoss (p. 70), made familiar through photographs and plaster

[1] Both figures of Christ and the figure of God the Father show the first, three fingers of the hands extended in contact, with space between third and fourth. Cf. p. 25.

casts of the original, which is now in the Germanic Museum, Nuremberg. God the Father and the Dove appear above the prominent T-shaped cross which is here symbolic. The Christ-child is sitting upon the left-arm of the cross, supported by the Virgin, who is shown crowned, at the right hand of God the Father. An angel is at the left hand of the Almighty, as pendent to the Virgin. A garland of fifty-five roses surrounds the composition already described, including within its circle thirty other figures.

EXAMPLES

The Hand is represented above the Dove and the crucified Christ.

H
D
X

(1) Cross of Lothair (Grandson of Charlemagne, † 855); (5) Jewelled crucifix; (8) 9th C.; (9) Aix-la-Chapelle. Cathedral Treasury; (10) HOL ii 329; (11) Ibid.

In the following examples the figure of God the Father is represented upon the upper portion of the cross, above the Dove and the crucified Christ.

GF
D
X

(1) Altar Group; (5) Statuesque monument; (8) Beg. 14C.; (9) Wechselburg-Saxony; (10) CK 171 (Reproductions in BKF and Dresden Albertinum).

A modern Russian crucifix and a devotional picture, purchased at the Russian Hospice, Jerusalem, in 1910, show the same arrangement of the three Persons as that of the Wechselburg altar group.

(5) Seal; (9) York. Holy Trinity Priory; (10) Y.

In the following examples, God the Father is represented above the cross and distinct from it; below are the Dove and the crucified Christ.

GF
D
X

(3) Jean Malouel et Henri de Bellechose; (4) The Last Communion of St. Denis; (8) 15C; (9) Louvre 995; (10) R II 605 GB 1904 p. 63.

(3) School of Paris; (4) The Crucified Christ of the Palace of Justice; (8) 1480; (9) Louvre; (10) PR c Nr. 355; PF XX; (11) PF c 128.

(1) Eichstätter Messbuch 1517. Nürnberger Nachdruck der Lutherischen Bibel 1524; (3) A. Dürer; (4) Christ on the Cross; (5) Ho; (8) 1516; (10) KDK 313.

(1) Bernard van Orley and M. Gheraerdt; (4) Christ upon the Cross; (8) Circ. 1534 (Artist died before completion of picture). (9) Bruges, Church of Notre Dame; (10) LPF III 237, 238.
(11) In this picture God the Father and the Dove are above the Cross, but at left and right respectively, of the vertical axis.

(1) Teil einer Rosenkranztafel

GF
(2) D
†

(3) Veit Stoss; (8) 1500; (9) Nuremberg, Germanic Museum; (10) GVM 562. Plaster Cast, MNY.; (11) Cf. p. 68.

To this general class belong the following representations of the Trinity which I have seen neither in the originals nor in reproductions:

Barnaba of Modena (1374)	WE 6
J. Matham (After Hemskerk ?)	WE 6 B 163
Woodcut by Springinklee (In Hortulus animae 1520)	WE 5 B 59
Marc Antonio Raimondi	WE 6 B 138
Woodcut by E. Schön	WE 6
Old picture (Altes Bild) in cathedral at Naples, Capella Minutoli	WE 6
Vinc. Catena in St. Simeone, Venice	WE 6
Altar piece in Zanotto	WE 6

EXAMPLES OF THE THRONE OF GRACE

"Gnadenstuhl" or Throne of Grace; representations of the Trinity in which God the Father, usually seated, holds the crucified Christ before him. The dove is usually in the vertical axis of the picture, directly above the cross, but is sometimes out of line.

(3) French School; (5) Mv; (8) 12C; (9) Troyes, City Library; (10) DI 593.

(5) Ho; (8) 12C; (10) DI 594: II, 72.

(3) Chalice du frère Hugo; (8) Beginning 13th C.; (9) Namur, Sœurs de N. D.

(1) Wartburg Psalter; (5) Mv; (8) circ. 1215; (9) Stuttgart, Kgl. Bibl. fol. 24.
Exhibited at the International Book Exposition, Leipzig, 1914.

(3) French School; (5) Mv; (8) 13 C.; (9) Paris, Nat. Bibl. Ms. du Duc d' Anjou; (10) DI 592.

(3) Westphalian School; (5) Px; (8) Circ. 1250-1270; (9) Berlin, BFK; (10) KFM 5 Nr. 1216 B.

(1) Queen Mary's Psalter; (5) Mv; (8) Circ. 1330; (9) BM; (10) QM 294: TW 80.

(1) Statuts de L'ordre du Saint-Esprit; (5) Mv; (8) 1352; (9) Louvre; (10) SS 26; (11) SS.

(5) Wall painting, presumably fresco; (8) 14C; (9) Landau, Pfalz, Stiftskirche; (10) WM.

(3) Burgundian School; (4) Trinity and the Four Evangelists; (6) Quatrefoil with demi-quatrefoil wings; (8) 1400 circ; (9) Berlin (No. 1688, not in catalogue); (10) Amtliche Berichte aus den Königl. Kunstsammlungen, XXXIII Jahrg. Nr. 12, Berlin, Sept., 1912, GB 1904, 458., R II 5.

(1) Heures du Duc Louis ;(4) Felix V presentant le crucifix au Duc Louis; (8) 1440-1445; (9) PBN Latin Ms. No. 9473; (10) HD XV.

(3) Meister von Flemalle; (5) Px; (8) 1438; (9) Prado; (10) ANM 25.

(3) J. Patinir; (9) Munich, Pinakothek; (10) BRA 143.

(1) Horar; (5) Mv; (8) 1430-1445; (9) Univ. Bibl. in Leiden. Ms. 224; (10) HL 76; (11) HL 73.

(3) German School, probably Bavarian; (5) Ho; (8) Circ. 1470; (9) BKK 67-1; (11) S 211 Nr. 744.

(3) German School, Augsburg; (5) Ho; (8) Circ. 1475; (9) BKK 68-1; (10) S 211 Nr. 745.

(1) Breviary of Philip the Good; (5) Mv; (8) 1430-1440; (9) Brussels, Bibl. Royale; (10) PB XXXIII.

(1) Heures de Henry IV; (5) Mv; (8) School of Bourdichon. End of 15th C. or beg. 16 C.; (9) PBN 1171; (10) HH XXXIX; (11) HH 4.

(5) Px on wood; (8) 15 C.; (9) Saint-Riquier; (10) DI 520., I 505.

(3) Master of Cologne; (4) Holy Trinity; (8) Circ. 1490; (10) KFM II 22., Nr. M 33 A.

(1) Latin Primer; (3) Flemish School; (5) Mv; (8) Circ. 1490; (9) London, Quaritch Nr. 202; (10) Q 202.

(3) Westphalian School; (8) Circ. 1450; (9) Berlin BKF; (10) KFM II 404 1217 A.

(4) Signum Sancti Spiritus; (5) Engraving on metal; (8) 1464; (10) ANF I 91 No. 50.

(3) Masaccio; (5) Px; (9) Florence, S. M. Novella; (10) Phot. KA.

(3) Andrea del Castagno 1390-1457; (4) San Gerolamo and the Trinity; (5) Fr.; (9) Florence, S. Annunziata; (10) Museum 43.

(3) Albertinelli; (4) Trinity; (5) Px; (9) Florence, Academy; (10) DE I 62; (11) "The largest and most beautiful representation of this style." DE I 255.

(3) Francesco Pesellino, 1422-1457; (5) Px; (9) London, Nat. Gal.; (10) OP 1607 B; (11) Cf. DI II 255.

(1) Nürnberger Andachtsbuch; (5) Ho; (8) 1503; (9) Berlin. Vienna; (10) NH XIV Nr. 100.

(1) Gänsebuch Missale, I. Teil; (5) Mv.; (8) 1507; (9) Nuremberg, St. Lorenz; (10) NM IV; (11) NM 48.

(3) Francesco Granacci. 1477-1543; (4) The Trinity; (5) Px; (7) 1.03 in diam.; (9) Berlin BKF; (10) KFM I 138 DE I 63.

(4) The Trinity; (10) MM 68.

CHAPTER XIII

The Vertical Type—The German Trinity

North of the Alps is to be found a variant of the Throne of Grace, which not only is the best representation of this type, but is also one of the most satisfactory pictures ever painted, of the triune Divinity. It will be so considered especially by those who wish to glorify and deify the Christ who died upon the cross. We may justly name this the German Trinity, in that most examples of it are by German artists, and because the best of these comes from the hand and soul of one of Germany's greatest painters. Further, if one will, it may be considered the Trinity of religious revolution, although the position of the Dove cannot be taken as a deliberate change of conventions in harmony with a change of religious views, for the beginning of representation of the Trinity with the different symbols placed as in this type, is to be found some hundreds of years before the period known as the Reformation. The distinguishing characteristic is the position of the Dove, which is placed in the middle axis, over the head of God-Father. This is the position of the Dove in the picture by Dürer of "All the Saints Adoring the Trinity," to be found in the Kaiserliche Gemälde Galerie at Vienna. A few earlier Trinities of this type are also to be found. One may be seen in the Psalter of St. Elizabeth, of the 12th century (HE XLI). That Dürer ever saw this probably cannot be proven, yet it is easy to imagine that he would be inclined to seek out this book of the famous saint, and to believe that he did so. In general, all other representations of the Trinity at all satisfactory, show either a connection between God-Father and the Son,

by means of the Dove, or the dogma of the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son. Following the old German use, Dürer broke with the more usual convention, and placed the Dove above God-Father and the crucified Christ, thus glorifying the Holy Spirit in his representation of the Trinity. It seems reasonable to suppose that the symbolism of this picture was felt to be in harmony with the changing religious ideals of the 16th century. The position and treatment of the Dove in this picture, are in sharp contrast with what Raphael wrought in La Disputa, where the Dove is represented in connection with an altar upon earth. Raphael's Trinity directs our attention to the centre of Catholic belief, the sacrifice of the Altar, and to the Church; Dürer's Trinity directs the worship of heaven and earth to God the Son, God the Father, and above all, to God the Holy Spirit, whose symbol with angel-halo crowns the whole picture with a kind of heavenly glory. If any representation of the Trinity is to be called protestant, it is it seems to me, that of Albrecht Dürer. This Trinity is, however, sometimes used by the Roman Catholic Church, and a modern mosaic of this type is to be found over the central entrance portal of the Catholic Church of Leipzig, not many feet from where Luther once passed a memorable fourth of July.

EXAMPLES

The Dove is represented above the figure of God the Father; below is the crucified Christ.

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(1) Psalter of St. Elizabeth; (4) Trinity; (5) Mv; (8) 1200; (9) Vienna, Mus. von Cividale; (10) HE XLI.; (11) HE 9.

(5) Sculpture; (8) End 11 C or beg. 12 C.; (9)

Mantes. Collegiate Church. Voussoir of central door, western porch.; (11) DI II 39, foot-note. Didron designates this as "a new and most interesting arrangement."

(1) Eichstätter Evangelien Postille; (3) Ulrich von Lilienfeld; (4) Pen drawing; (8) Circ. 1410-1437; (9) Eichstätt; (10) EE LXXIV Nr. 127; (11) EE 57.

(3) A. Dürer 1471-1528; (4) Adoration of the Holy Trinity. Subject: Eine Versammlung aller Heiligen, für Brüderhaus in Nürnberg. (9) Vienna, Hofmuseum; (10) KDK 49: Frontispiece.

(3) H. S. Beham; (5) Ho; (10) SB II Nr. 686v; (11) SB, 25, 27.

A modern wall-painting by the American artist, Francis Duveneck (1848-), in St. Mary's Cathedral, Covington, Ky., shows a representation of the Trinity of this type.

CHAPTER XIV

The Trinity of the Broken Body

Throughout the art of Western Europe the Descent from the Cross, the Pietà, and the Burial, were favorite themes for pictures and to their popularity is probably due the representation of the Trinity with the dead body of Christ. The mystery and fear of death, which always have a strong hold upon the mind of man, were emphasized by the Church, and in the late Middle Ages emblems of death were common as ornaments or tokens. Falstaff in King Henry IV tells Bardolph, that he makes as good use of his face "as many a man doth of a Death's head or a memento mori."[1] The Cistercian monks are still taught to dig a little of their grave each day. Apart from the consideration of death in general, the body of Christ might also suggest his Resurrection and so become a symbol of hope as well as of admonition.

A minor consideration in seeking to establish the origin of the Trinity of the Broken Body, is that trait of human nature which shows itself in a kind of pleasure or satisfaction arising from contemplation of the lifeless human body. Grant Allen, who was an appreciative critic of the art of Italy, says in a chapter upon the Pietà: "From the very beginning, the inhabitants of Tuscany,—call them ancient Etruscans or modern Florentines,—have always been remarkable for a certain strangely gloomly and morbid twist of sentiment and disposition" (GA 306). Detzel, a German, finds that representations of the Trinity with the dead body of Christ, "are numerous, especially in the old German School" (DE 64). The Franco-Flemish school shows uncommonly gruesome and realistic pictures of this sub-

[1] 1 Hen. IV, iii. 3.35.

ject, while the earliest example I have found, is Saxon. This wide-spread interest is probably also an evidence of the desire to portray the closing scenes of Christ's life upon earth. These pictures often recall the Throne of Grace, the composition being similar, except that the representation of the crucified Christ is replaced by that of his wounded body. Sometimes the relation to the Pietà seems closer, and God the Father apparently takes the place of Mary in supporting their Son.

Early Christian art does not appear to offer examples of the Pietà. The pictures of this subject by a Greek painter (1250) and by Cimabue († 1302) in the Church of St. Francis Assisi, are mentioned by Detzel, who raises the question whether pictures or written word, introduced the Vierge de pitié into Art. (Cf. DE 432). The Byzantine "Guide to Painting" of the 12th century[1] (DI II 318) and the vivid descriptions of S. Bonaventura in the 13th century, were doubtless influential, and their descriptions were often followed. German miniatures of about the year 1000 picture the descent from the cross (DE 424) and prove an interest in the events centering about the dead body of Christ prior to the writings mentioned. One crude Trinity of the Broken Body is noted by L .Twining (TW 72) as of the 11th century. So early an example is exceptional.

This representation of the Trinity, through God the Father, the Dove, and the body of Christ, seems to be a late device, and to have arisen when the Trinity of the Throne of Grace and the Pietà, were well established. It is apparently the result of definite intent to represent the Trinity with the dead body of Christ, insomuch as the Dove and God the Father are never, or very rarely, introduced into the Pietà or Descent from the Cross. The development of this type belongs chiefly to the 14th and to the 15th centuries.

However fond Florentine art may have been of representing the Pietà and kindred scenes, it was in the cold North that the Trinity of the Broken Body was most at home.

[1] The extant Ms. is a copy of the 15th or 16th century.

In the art of the Netherlands, Meister von Flemalle is especially interesting in his handling of the Trinity. In the Trinity of the Werle-Altar, the standing God-Father presents the crucified Christ in the manner of the Throne of Grace. In the Frankfort picture, recently described by F. R. Uebe (U 13), the standing God-Father holds the dead body of Christ, and the picture naturally suggests a Descent from the Cross. In the Petrograd example, God the Father sits upon a throne, and holds the Body upon which sits the Dove. This eclectic handling of the elements of his composition shows an advanced stage in the development of the representations of the Trinity. Breaking away from settled types, Flemalle sought variety. Imitations and similar representations are numerous. Uebe mentions five such in Louvain alone.

The German pictures of this type show also a tendency toward variety and individual expression. They often place the Dove above, in the middle of the picture, as we have seen Dürer did, in his Allerheiligenbild. This peculiarity is also found in a picture ascribed to the Meister der heiligen Sippe, now in the possession of Prof. Dr. Conrady of the University of Leipzig. (R III 8). Further variety in composition will be found in the pictures of Dürer, Cranach and Bazzi.

The Trinities of the Broken Body may be of interest through their relationship with other pictures, but as representations of the Trinity they are decidedly displeasing, and mark a decline in the attempt fittingly to illustrate this dogma. Corpse and Trinity are not more harmonious as words, than the pictorial compositions which attempt to visualize the underlying concepts. As a stimulus for worship and adoration, they hardly seem to deserve such popularity as they have enjoyed.

Examples

God the Father, usually enthroned, holds the body of Christ in most examples, at left of the vertical axis. The Dove hovers above God the Father, or between his

head and that of Christ. In a few pictures the Dove is shown perched upon the throne.

(3) Saxon School; (4) Trinity; (8) 11 C.; (9) BM Saxon MS.; (10) TW 72.

(3) Meister von Flemalle; (8) 1438-1460; (9) E; (10) J XIX, 1898 p. 98; (11) Ibid.

(3) Meister de Flemalle; (8) 1438-60; (9) Frankfurt; (10) R I 441 J XII 16.

(3) School of Malouel; (8) Beg. 15 C. Paris; (9) Gotha; (10) RA 1906 p. 352.

(3) J. Malouel; (8) Circ. 1400; (9) Louvre; (10) R II 477, Das Museum 89.

An interesting discussion of this picture will be found in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1904, I, p. 60, and in the Rev. Archeol, 1906, I, p. 352.

(3) Hugo v. d. Goes, 1482; (9) Edinburgh, Holyrood Castle; (10) R III 7.

(1) Book of Hours; (3) French School; (5) Mv; (8) 1490-1500; (9) Ashburnham Collection; (10) Q 9.

(3) J. Bellegambe; (4) Altar piece representing Trinity; (8) 1511; (9) Douai; (10) Förster, Denkmale.

(3) Meister der Heiligen Sippe; (4) Die h. Dreinigkeit; (8) 1485-1515; (9) Leipzig, collection of Prof. A. Conrady; (10) R III 8 (Miltenberg sale, Dec., 1904, Nr. 347).

(3) Mittelrheinischer Meister; (8) Circ. 1440; (9) Berlin BKM; (10) KFM II 14 1206.

(4) Trinity; (8) Circ. 1520; (9) Lübeck, St. Marienkirche; (10) KA Taf. 201, 25.

(3) Hans Baldung (Grien) 1476-1545; (4) Christus im Grabe; (5) Px; (9) London, Nat. Gal.; (10) HMK 3, 99.

(3) El Greco 1548-1625; (5) Px; (9) Prado; (10) Seemans Katalog 55.

(3) Rubens; (4) The Holy Trinity; (8) 1620-1621; (9) Antwerp Museum; (10) KDK 225.

(3) J. Ribera; (9) Prado; (10) RI xxiv 112; (11) Ibid.
Similar representation in the Cathedral at Granada.

(10) MM 25.

(3) Lucas Cranach the Elder; (4) Der Sterbende; (8) Leipzig Museum; (9) Leipzig Museum Catalog.

Similar representations of the Trinity are said to be found in the churches of Sterzing, Meran, Lana and Latch in Tyrol. Cf. CK 34, 187.

In the following examples the Dove is represented above God the Father and the Crucified Christ.

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(3) A. Dürer; (4) The Trinity; (5) Ho; (8) 1511; (10) KDK 270, B 122.

(3) G. A. Bazzi (Sodoma) 1477-1549; (4) Holy Trinity; (5) Drawing; (9) Florence, Uffizi; (10) G. A. Bazzi by R. H. Hobart Cust p. 364.

(3) Lucas Cranach the Elder; (9) BKK 702-2; (11) BR vii 287 Nr. 78.

(3) Lucas Cranach the Elder; (9) BKK 703-2; (11) BR vii 289 Nr. 81.

CHAPTER XV

The Horizontal Type—The three Persons are represented side by side, alike in form

G G G

Most of the representations of the Trinity which we have thus for considered arose originally through an attempt to illustrate some other subject, or they were influenced by some theme other than the Trinity itself. However, the problem of representing triune Divinity in and for itself, was early presented to the artist of sacred subjects. It was natural that this should arise in the 4th century when the much discussed dogma of the Trinity was officially formulated. The solution was very simple. In order to represent three like Persons of Deity three like figures were portrayed.[1] At Rome, beneath the Church of S. Paolo, built by Theodosius the Great, was found a sarcophagus, now in the Lateran Museum, upon which are shown various scenes of Bible history. In the representation of the creation of man, God the Father is shown seated upon his throne. Behind him stands God the Spirit: in front, God the Son extends his hand above the head of diminutive Eve, standing by the feet of Adam, who lies prone upon the ground. There seems to be no reason to doubt this identification of the three Persons of the Godhead, similar in figure and vesture, although the representation is unique in early art. Those who believe that the frequent representations of Shadrach, Meschach and Abednego in the Catacombs, are symbols of the Trinity, would

[1] Benedict XIV, Pope 1740-1758, condemned this representation of the Trinity. For full discussion: see Revue de l'Art Chrétien, Nov. 1904. XV p. 440, Cf. also, AA 15 p. 235, foot-note.

AN ITALIAN TRINITY OF THE XVTH CENTURY
By permission of the Metropolitan Museum, New York. See p. 88.

probably consider them and very early representations of Abraham's angelic visitors—if such exist—to be prototypes of the horizontal type of the Trinity, but of such connection there is no certain proof. The three angels who visited Abraham were, however, considered in later times as a manifestation of the Trinity, and the mosaic upon the side walls of S. Maria Maggiore is generally accepted as a representation of the Trinity. (Cf. CA II 1997). According to de Rossi, this mosaic dates from the second half of the 4th century. (MCR, page preceding Pl. V). Other authorities place it in the 5th century. This subject is also shown in a mosaic upon the left wall of the presbytery of the choir of S. Vitale, 536-547, directly opposite that of the symbolic Trinity described above, (p. 60) similarly placed between an upper and a lower arcade. The architecture of the choir where these pictures are found, and also details of the mosaic ornamentation, show intentional Trinitarian symbolism, so that this mosaic picture of Abraham's visitors in S. Vitale, seems to be symbolic of the Trinity, even more certainly than that of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome.

Didron says that Trinities in which all three Persons have the human form appeared first in the 9th century (DI 574);[1] Detzel says that with the 10th century, the Trinity began to be thus represented. (DE 58). The first example of which I have found definite record, is that of a manuscript of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died 988. The list of Trinities of this style, which follows this chapter, gives typical examples of a group of pictures, very small in number as compared with representations of the horizontal type with the Dove, and portraying the Coronation of the Virgin, which include by far the greater number of all representations of the Trinity.

Of Trinities of the horizontal type representing the three Persons in bodily form, especially interesting,

[1] Didron probably meant 10th century. The printer may have been responsible for his date of the death of St. Dunstan, viz. 908,—an error which is continued in the English translation and which appears also in the Iconography of Wessely (WE).

is a miniature of the 15th century in Ms. fr. 244, PBN, noted on page 87, in that it gives an idea of the staging of the Trinity in a mediæval Mystery play. Above the stage upon which the actors of the drama are shown, the members of the Trinity sit upon their throne in heaven, covered with a single robe, and bearing the usual insignia of the Godhead.

Noteworthy also is a miniature by Fouquet in the Chantilly collection. The three Persons, alike in form, vesture and insignia, sit beneath an elaborate Gothic throne, surrounded by choirs of myriad angels. At their right the Virgin is enthroned, below them and in lesser glory. A group of worshippers occupies the foreground. No book, to which I can refer, contains a reproduction of this picture, which is, it seems to me, one of the most beautiful of its type. Cf. p. 88.

The Metropolitan Museum, New York, contains a good example of a picture of the Trinity of the horizontal type, a reproduction of which faces p. 82 of this book.

In the most satisfactory pictures of this type, the three Persons of the Trinity are represented alike, side by side, in positions of dignity and repose. Variants of this composition occur in which the figures of Divinity are familiarly treated, and are shown in various positions and occupations. In the Book of Hours of Catherine of Cleves (GVM 286), God the Father and God the Son are shown enthroned, turning with gestures of blessing and affection to God the Son, who kneels between them facing toward the Father, who presents a small cross to the extended hands of his son. This picture apparently illustrates a part of one of the revelations of Mechtildis the Elder, of Magdeburg, 1210-1285, which runs as follows

"The eternal Father spoke 'Who is to take baseness upon himself?'

"Thereupon, the eternal Son kneeled before his father and spoke: 'Dear father, that will I do. Will you give me thy blessing? I shall gladly take upon myself the flesh and blood of humanity, and will anoint the wounds of man with the blood of my innocence, and will

bind them all with the cloth of wretched shame, even to mine end, and I shall pay to thee, dear father, with mortal death, the debt of man.'

"To the father, spoke the Holy Ghost: 'O Almighty God, we will descend in high honor from this height. I moreover, have already been Mary's chamberlain.'

"Then the Father inclined with great love to the will of both and spoke to the Holy Ghost: 'Thou shalt bear thence before my dear son my light into all the hearts, which he is to move with my words. Thou, however, Son, shall take thy cross upon thee. I shall go before thee in all thy ways, and will give thee a pure virgin for mother, in order that thou mayest more easily endure ignoble humanity.'

"And they descended with great joy to the temple of Solomon. Then wished Almighty God to be in place of shelter nine months long.

"The sweet dew of the eternal Trinity poured forth from the springs of Divinity upon the purity of the chosen virgin, and the fruit of this flower is God, the immortal, though mortal too, as man.[1]

"Lady, St. Mary, thou are mother of this marvel. So tell me, when that happened. Mary answered: 'When our Father's joy through Adam's fall was troubled, so that he must needs be wroth, then did the wisdom of the Almighty conceive with me wrath (over the sin); then did he choose me as bride; for his (first) dear bride, the soul (of man), was dead. The Son chose me as mother; the Holy Ghost chose me as friend. Thus became I the bride of the Holy Trinity, mother of the orphan, whom I bore before the eyes of God, so that they were not quite cast down.' "[2]

[1] For discussion of representation of the Trinity within the body of Mary v. DI, II, 60 61.

[2] For text from which this translation was made see GVM 286, which quotes from "Lux divinitas" III 9, in "Revelationes Gertrudianæ et Mechtildianæ II." It refers also to Michael, "Geschichte des deutschen Volkes III 187 f." For text see also, Morel, Benedict (Gallus) Offenbarungen der Schwester Mechthild von Magdeburg oder das fliessende Licht der Gottheit; Regensburg, 1869. Cf. under Visions of Ascetic Women: H. A. Taylor, The Mediæval Mind. Macmillan, 1914. Vol. I, p. 481 ff.

The Livre d'heures of Anne of Cleves contains other representations of the Trinity, described in the Revue de l'Art Chrétien, Nov. 1904, which suggest further literary influences. The revelations of Mechtildis are said to have been influenced by pictures (GVM 285), so that we have evidence of a chain of interrelations between pictured and written expression of mediæval tradition, which may add something to the estimate of the importance of pictures in the story of civilization.

The *Burlington Magazine* for January, 1912, (CU AB B92 v. 20) Vol. XX, p. 210, also ibid. p. 277, describes and illustrates eight Flemish tapestries of "The Seven Deadly Sins," dating from about 1500. These are rich in representations of the Trinity of the horizontal type, the first, that of the "Creation" showing seven examples, with great variety of positions. The fourth shows the Baptism in the usual vertical style. Christ and the Dove are in full profile, while God the Father appears in full front view above. With this exception all the Trinities may be considered of the G G G type, but with the Persons often out of conventional position. Christ is sometimes distinguished by wound-prints, although the statement of the author of the article that the Trinity is represented "as three separate Persons exactly similar" is in most cases true. These tapestries invite further study in regard to their origin, and as to their relation to Morality Plays. With hundreds of figures crowding among the flowers and porticos, they constitute a rich source of information in regard to things and ideas at the close of the 15th century.

The representation of the Trinity sculptured by order of Abelard, will be discussed below (p. 107). While we cannot be certain of its character, it seems probable that it was similar to that of the Trinities considered in this chapter.

EXAMPLES

The three Persons are represented side by side, alike in form.

G G G

(1) Sarcophagus; (4) Creation of Adam and Eve; (8) 4 C.; (9) Rome, Lateran Museum; (10) DE I 57.

(1) Manuscript of St. Dunstan Arch. of Canterbury. Obit circ. 988; (11) WE 4 DE I 58 DI 564: II 40.

(1) Hortus deliciarum. Ms. d'Herrade; (8) Circ. 1180; (9) Strasburg, Library; (10) DI 565; (11) WE 4 DE I 58 DI 585, 623.

An easily accessible example of this type will be found in reproduction under "Trinity" in the Century Dictionary, p. 6483. (8) Late 13th C; (9) Church of St. Urbain, Troyes, France.

(1) French Ms. (8) 14 C.; (9) PBN fonds Laval; (10) DI 446 TW 78.

(1) French Ms.; (8) 15 C.; (9) PBN; (10) DI 604 DE I 96.

(1) French Bible; (4) Creation of Angels; (9) Brussels. Library of Old Dukes of Burgundy; (10) HOL i 62.

(11) Three representations of the Trinity, two with Persons standing, one with Godhead enthroned.

(1) Ms. de la Legende Dorée.
Justice, Truth, Mercy and Peace before the Throne.
(2) Gg Gs GF
A Book A
A
Mercy, Truth Justice, Peace.
Annunciation
(5) Mv; (8) 15C; (9) PBN Ms fr. 244; (10) GB 1904 31 217 (CU AB G24 v. 92); (11) Ibid. 216.

(1) English (?) Ms.; (8) 15 C.; (9) BM; (10) TW 80.

(1) French Miniature; (3) J. de Fouquet; (4) Enthronement of the Virgin; (9) Chantilly, Museum Condé.

(8) 15 C, first half; (10) BKK 119-1907.
(11) Compare a similar representation at the Düsseldorf exposition of 1904, Nr. 564-xv. Herzog v. Aronberg Trinity from the Pray Book of Kathrina v. Kleve. V. A. Bruchmann, Munich 1905. Also RC xv 437 ff.

(1) Heures Latines; (5) Mv; (8) 16 C; (9) Bibl. de Ste. Geneviève, No. 464; (10) DI i 471.

(1) Corale di Siena.
(2) Gs Gv Gg all standing.
(3) Girolamo da Cremona; (5) Mv; (10) TA 6915.
(11) In this picture Christ is shown with the Lamb. The Holy Spirit bears the Torch.

(1) Kress-Missalle; (8) 1513; (9) Nuremburg, privately owned; (10) NM ix.

(3) Bernard van Orley; (4) Death of Mary; (6) Central panel of Altar Piece in seven parts; (8) 1525; (9) Brussels, Hospital of St. John; (10) Les Primitifs Flamand, iii, 232.

(1) Condé Livre d'Heures; (5) Mv; (9) London, Q; (10) Q cc.

(5) Glass window; (9) York. St. Trinity; (10) HAI 179; (11) HAI 180.

(1) Triptych consisting of sixteen pictures; (3) Italian artist. Difendente de Ferrari?; (4) One of a series of fourteen pictures illustrating life of Christ; (5) Px on wood; (8) Circ. 1450. N. Italy. Probably Lombardy or Piedmont; (9) MNY No. It5S S2. Gal. 33; (10)

p. 82; (11) Bulletin MNY, Vol. iv. No. 5, May, 1909, p. 88. "Such a conception of the Trinity occurs scarcely ever in Italian art, but is not unfamiliar in the miniature art of England and France."

CHAPTER XVI

The Horizontal Type—God the Father and God the Son usually enthroned side by side, the Dove hovering between them

GF D C

Insomuch as the one definite record of the New Testament of the manifestation of the Holy Spirit states that the appearance was that of a Dove, we find this symbol most used in representing God the Holy Ghost throughout Christian art. We naturally expect, therefore, to find the human figure replaced by the Dove in pictures of the horizontal type, and this sometimes occurs in representations of the Trinity alone; it occurs very often in connection with the portrayal of the Coronation of the Virgin.

The pictures of this type are usually conventional in the arrangement of the figures, showing God the Father and God the Son enthroned, with the Dove between them. The single procession of the Spirit is sometimes indicated in Greek pictures by representing the Dove in profile, flying from the Father, as in the fresco at Mt. Athos, noted on p. 93, or by showing the tip of one wing touching the lips of the Father, while a space intervenes between the other wing and the lips of the Son. In the West in pictures of this style, the position of the Dove often suggests the double procession.

God the Father and God the Son are almost always represented by human figures in Trinities of the horizontal type, but other symbols may sometimes appear. This consideration recalls the strange Trinity of Chosroes, described by the author of the "Golden Legend," using doubtless the imagery of representations of the Trinity with which he was familiar. He quotes, he says

from the "Mitrale, vel Summa de Divinis Officiis," a work attributed to Richard, bishop of Cremona, who lived in 1195. (DI II 38, foot-note.) "The said Cosdroe, resident in his throne as a father, set the tree of the cross on his right side instead of the sun, and a cock on the left side instead of the Holy Ghost, and commanded that he should be called father."[1]

One of the very few variants of this type, in which the composition is handled unconventionally, is seen in the Trinity by Wohlgemuth. (p. 93). Here God the Father is seated on the left side of a double throne, shown in three-quarter side view. Christ kneels before him, pointing to the instruments of his passion. The Dove hovers over the throne of God the Son, apparently ready to move to the usual position between Father and Son when the latter takes his place upon the throne.

The Trinity by Memling of S. Mark's Library, Venice, (p. 92) is one of the most satisfactory of all representations of the Trinity, and probably the most beautiful of its type.

Examples

God the Father and God the Son usually enthroned side by side; the Dove hovering between them.

G D G

(1) French Miniature; (8) End of 13 C.; (10) DI 221.

(1) French Ms. Psalter; (8) Beg. of 13 C.; (9) Chartres; (10) DI 220.

(1) Psalter of St. Louis and Blanche de Castille; (5) Mv; (8) 13 C.; (9) Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal; (10) SLB xlv; (11) SLB 26.

(1) Psautier de St. Louis; (8) 13th C 1252-1270; (9) PBN—10526; (10) SL Taf. 86.

[1] Golden Legend, Vol. V, p. 127, Temple Classics, London 1900.

(1) Psalter. Arundel Ms. 83.

(3) Written in England; (8) Before 1339; (9) London. BM; (10) PS ii 1873-1883 Pl. 99; (11) Ibid.

(1) Heures à l'Usage d' Angers; (5) Mv; (8) 1430-1460 West of France, Anjou (?) Poitou (?); (9) Paris, Collection Martin le Roy; (10) HA xx; (11) HA 20, 21.

(1) Heures de Turin; (5) Mv; (8) 1404-1413; (9) Turin, fol. 42; (10) HT xxiv.

(5) Mv; (8) End of 15 C.; (9) Siena, Bibl. Com. (Lomb. 206); (10) Photo. BKK 739-1912.

(1) Heures du Duc Louis; (4) Exaltation de Felix v (?); (5) Mv; (8) 1440-1445 Savoy; (9) PBN Latin Nr. 9473; (10) HD xiv.

(1) Hours of the Virgin; (3) French artist; (8) 15 C.; (9) London. BM. Add. Ms. 16, 997; (10) PS ii 2d ser. Pl. 116.

(3) French Ms. (8) 15 C.; (9) Paris. Bibl. Nat.; (10) MO 650.

(1) Grimani Breviary; (3) Memling; (5) Mv; (8) End 15th C.; (9) Venice. St. Mark's Library; (10) HOL ii 349; (11) Ibid. ii 348.

(3) Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen 1480-1533 (?); (4) Verehrung der Dreieinigkeit; (9) Cassel, Gem. Gal.; (10) HMK 6, 107.

(1) The Triumphs of Petrarch; (4) Triumphs of the Trinity; (8) Beg. 16 C.; (9) PBN French Ms. 594; (10) HN xiv; (11) HN 37. Ms. executed for Louis xii.

(1) French Miniature; (5) Mv; (8) 16 C.; (9) Bibl. Ste. Geneviève. Cité de Dieu; (10) DI 586.

(1) Heures d'Anne de Bretagne; (3) J. Bournant; (5) Mv; (8) 1507; (9) PBN; (10) AB 32.

(3) Hans Holbein the Younger; (5) Ho; (9) BKK 70, 511-6; (11) HO ii 171.

(1) Augsburger Diözesan Missale; (3) Sebaldus Mayer, from drawings of M. Gerung; (5) Ho; (8) 1555 Dillingen; (10) BU ii 76; (11) BU text 41, 50.

(3) Rubens; (4) The Madonna and Saints as Intercessors for Humanity; (8) 1618-1620; (9) Lyon, Mus.; (10) KDK 174.

(3) Rubens; (4) The Holy Trinity; (5) Px; (8) Circ. 1616; (9) Munich, Alte Pinakothek; (10) KDK 114.

(3) Rubens; (4) The Holy Trinity; (5) Px; (8) 1604-1606; (9) Mantua, City Library; (10) KDK 21.

(3) Murillo; (4) Vision of St. Augustine; (5) Px; (8) Circ. 1678; (9) Seville, Mus.; (10) KDK 160.

(1) Grandes Heures d' A. Verard; (10) HH SH ii Taf. 138.

(5) Fr; (9) Mont Athos; (10) DI I 60.

(1) Heures de Milan; (5) Mv; (8) Beg. 15 C.; (9) Milan, Bibl. Trivulziana; (10) HM v.

D
Book
(2) G Lamb G

(3) Swabian School; (8) Circ. 1440; (9) Berlin BKF; (10) KFM ii 405 Nr. 1673; (11) This example is a variant, insomuch as Christ is represented by Lamb and Book, as well as by the human figure.

(3) M. Wohlgemuth; (10) HOL ii 378; (11) HOL ii 377 Cf. p. 91.

CHAPTER XVII

The Horizontal Type—The Trinity of the Coronation

Of all the representations of the Trinity, the type showing the greatest number of examples is that in which the three Persons of the Godhead are portrayed in connection with the Coronation of the Virgin. This act seems to have been the logical outcome of belief in the corporeal ascension of Mary, a queen. Belief in the Assumption, (and presumably also in the Coronation) is universal in East and West according to Holweck in the Catholic Encyclopedia, (CE 2 6c) who quotes Benedict XIV; "it is a probable opinion, which to deny were impious and blasphemous." The Vatican Council did not meet the demand of numerous clergy that this belief underlying the principal feast of the Virgin be authoritatively defined. It dates from the 5th or 6th century and rests upon uncertain traditions and apocryphal writings. References to the Coronation, aside from its treatment in art, are comparatively meagre in both ancient and modern writings. The Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, I 2138d, seems to sum up in a question, all that can be said in argument: "N' était-ce pas le couronnement logique des privilèges merveilleux qui avaient préparé, accompagné et suivi la maternité divine de Marie?"

Direct reference to the Coronation is sometimes to be found in the *tropus* or gloss, by which liturgical texts were often elaborated or adorned. Beissel quotes some of these; the earliest mentioning the Coronation, seems to be a Gloria in Excelsis, said to have been widely used in the 15th century (GVM 321).

The Golden Legend speaks of the "glorious Queen" and gives extended accounts of her Assumption, but does

THE CORONATION OF MARY
D. Bouts

not describe her Coronation in detail.[1] Much was left to the imagination of the many who devoted themselves to contemplation of the Glorious Mysteries, encouraged by the growing use of the Rosary. Legends of the Virgin flourished in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, culminating in the preaching of Alan de Rupe, 1470-75. "He was full of delusions, and based his revelations on the imaginary testimony of writers that never existed." (CE 13 186c). He organized, however, the widely influential Confraternities of the Rosary. Two of the five Glorious Mysteries are the Assumption and the Coronation. Insomuch as the Trinity of the Coronation seems not to appear before the 15th century, and becomes the most used of all forms in the 15th and 16th centuries, there is reason for explaining this sudden and late popularity, by the increased attention accorded the Glorious Mystery of the Coronation, in the devotions of the Rosary.[2]

The oldest testimony in art to the Coronation of the Virgin is seen in the mosaic of the apse of S. Maria in Trastevere, circ. 1130-1143. The act of crowning has already taken place, and Mary sits enthroned beside Christ, who embraces her with his right arm in illustration of Cant. 8: 3[3] The Hand of God appears above the head of Christ, but not the Dove as Detzel states. (DE 521). The first representation of the act of Coronation is probably the mosaic picture of the apse of S. Maria Maggiore, dating from the last decade of the 13th century. Pictures of the Coronation of any kind, are not numer-

[1] After Christ and the host of heaven had conducted Mary to her seat, we find these words in the Caxton translation: "And the over great and ineffable Trinity enjoyeth in her perdurable gladness, and his grace redoundeth all in her and maketh all other to entend and await on her." (GLC 4 247). The pronoun his" suggests a concept of personification and unity of personality not now usual in thinking of the Trinity is found in picture noted on p. 26.

[2] The Hail Mary is mentioned as a form of prayer in the 11th century, but its use did not become general until the middle of the 12th century (CE 13 185cd). The use of beads or counters of some kind, to number prayers, is very ancient. St. Dominic did not introduce the practice of saying 150 Aves nor is there satisfactory evidence to show that he identified himself with the pre-existing Rosary. (Ibid. 186b).

[3] Mrs. Jameson misquotes this text, or errs in translating the Latin of the mosaic. LOM 15.

ous until the 15th century. Representations of the Trinity in connection with the Coronation, in which the three Persons of the Trinity appear in human form, are comparatively few in all periods, the Dove presumably being preferred to the figure of a man as a symbol of the Spirit. In most pictures of this type, Mary kneels before the three Persons of the Trinity, who are enthroned side by side. A variant is to be seen in an exquisite miniature by Jean Fouquet, of the Museum Condé at Chantilly. God the Father and God the Holy Ghost sit side by side upon a massive throne, surrounded by choirs of angels. Christ has left his place at the right hand of the Father, and stands before the centre of the throne in the act of crowning Mary who kneels in profile before him.

By far the greater number of the Trinities of the horizontal type represent God the Father and God the Son placing the crown upon the head of Mary, who kneels before them, while the Dove hovers above her head between them. In the most satisfactory examples Mary is represented in full front view, the composition being conventionalized and presented as a subject for adoration. From a purely artistic standpoint the arrangement of the figures makes easy and natural, groupings in pyramidal, triangular and circular forms, which give pleasure and satisfaction. The pictures were also satisfactory as objects of devotion, in that they gave a prominent place to Mary in the foreground, as the mediatrix between the worshiper and the triune Godhead. They exalted the Trinity and linked in reasonable, harmonious and pleasing combination, fitting, visible symbols for contemplation in connection with the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria and Gloria Patri,—the prayers and ascriptions of the Rosary,—at the same time illustrating the consummation of its Glorious Mysteries, the Coronation of the Virgin.[1]

[1] A 15th century description of the Trinity of the Coronation is found in a contract dated 1453, between Enguerrand Charonton and Jean de Montagnac for an alter-piece at Villeneuve-les-Avignon, to cost 140 florins:

"Premièrement y doit estre la forme du Paradis, et en ce Paradis doit estre la Sainte Trinité, et du Père au Fils ne doit avoir nulle différence, et le Saint Esperit en forme d' une colombe et Notre Dame

A distinct variant of the types of the Coronation already described, is to be seen in those pictures in which God the Father is represented in the centre of the picture, blessing the crowning of Mary, which is being enacted before him. In these pictures Christ and Mary are often shown in side-view, with the Dove between them and God the Father. A limited number of examples might be classified under the vertical type, although the three Persons are seldom in the vertical axis of the picture.

EXAMPLES

God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, similar in form, side by side, usually seated, are represented in the act of crowning the Virgin, who kneels before them.

G G G
M

(3) French School; (8) 15 C.; (9) Basle, Mus.; (10) PF ii-xv.

(3) French School; (5) Mv; (8) 16 C.; (9) Church at Verrières; (10) DI 508 DE i 59.

(3) Holbein the Elder; (4) The Basilica of St. Maggiore, 1499; (9) Augsburg, Gal.; (10) Hans Holbein the Younger by Gerold S. Davies (G. Bell & Sons, Pub.).

(5) Sculpture in wood; (8) 16 C.; (9) Amiens, Stalls of Cathedral; (10) DI 456.

(1) French Miniature. Livres d'heures de E. Chevalier; (3) Jean Fouquet; (9) Chantilly, Mus. Condé; (10) GVM 656.

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devant selon qu'il semblera mieul au dit maistre Enguerrand,—à laquelle Notre Dame la Sainte Trinité methra la couronne sur la teste."

Le dit maistre Enguerrand monstrera toute sa science en la Sainte Trinité et en la benoîte Vierge Marie et du demeurant selon sa conscience." RG).

Two persons of the Trinity are represented enthroned side by side, on a three-seated throne. The third member of the Trinity, presumably Christ, has left his place, and stands in front of the throne, in the act of crowning the Virgin who kneels before Him.

In the following examples God the Father, and God the Son, usually seated, are represented in the act of crowning the Virgin, who in most cases kneels in the centre of the picture, while the Dove hovers above her head.

G D G
M

(1) Breviary of Philip the Good; (5) Mv; (8) 1430-1440; (9) Brussels, Bibl. Royal; (10) PB xliv.

(3) School of Avignon; (8) 15 C.; (9) Carpentras, Cathedral; (10) PF xliii.

(3) French School; (8) Circ. 1455; (9) Villeneuve lès Avignon; (10) R iii 509.

(3) Master of the Monogram E. S.; (4) Virgin of Einsiedeln; (5) Engraving on copper; (8) 1466; (9) PBN; (10) Heilogravure. M. Armand Durand, Paris. Bartch vi, p. 16. No. 35. International Chalcographical Soc. 1887-11. Leipzig. Permanent Book Exhibit Museum, Kupferstich Mappe, 8.

(1) Mich. Pachers Altar; (5) Statuesque monument; (9) Gries bei Bozen; (10) CK 36; (11) CK 33.

(5) Ho; (8) 1460-1475; (11) S Nr. 734, p. 207.

(3) German School; (8) Circ. 1470; (9) BKK 136-1; (11) S 206 Nr. 732.

(3) German School; (8) Circ. 1450; (9) BKK 138-1; (11) S 206 Nr. 730.

(3) German School; (5) Ho; (8) 1480-1490 Nuremburg (?); (9) BKK 135-1; (11) S 205 Nr. 728.

(8) 1470-1480; (9) BKK Schrotblatt 303-1; (11) S iii 83 Nr. 2436.

(3) D. Bouts 1410-1475; (5) Px; (9) Vienna, Acad. (10) See illustration facing p. 94.

(3) E. Charonton; (4) Triumph of the Virgin; (5) Px; (8) 1453; (9) Villeneuve lès Avignon; (10) PF c. Nr. 71 PF xv; (11) PF c. 32 PF 5.

(3) H. Memling; (5) Px; (8) Circ. 1488; (9) Bruges, Shrine of Ursula; (10) KDK 88.

Tapestry, De la Chaise Dieu, ATH 30.

(3) A. Dürer; (4) Coronation and Ascension of the Virgin; (5) No; (8) 1510; (10) KDK 219.

(3) Master of the Byzantine Madonna; (8) Leipzig, 1516 (?); (9) Leipzig, City Museum.

(3) School of Swabia; (8) 1524; (9) Nuremburg 203; (10) R iii 510.

(3) School of Swabia; (8) Circ. 1520; (9) Dinkelsbuhl; (10) R iii 512.

(3) Oberdeutscher Meister; (8) Circ. 1520; (9) Leipzig Museum; (10) Leipzig Museum Catalogue.

(1) High Altar; (3) Bavarian artist; (5) Figures of wood; (8) Circ. 1520; (9) Berching, St. Lorenz; (10) KB, Heft. xii 34.

(3) Albert Cornelis 1532; (8) 1517-1522; (9) Bruges, Church of St James; (10) Les Primitifs Flamand. Fierens-Gevært. ii 156.

(3) Hans L. Schäufelin, 1480-1540; (9) Nördlingen; (10) R ii 521.

(1) Triptychon; (3) Adriæn Isenbrandt 1551; (4) Himmelfahrt mit Heiligen; (8) 1500-1551; (9) Cote d'Or, Col. of Conte de Grancey; (10) GD 212.

(3) Adam Elsheimer 1578-1610; (4) Darstellung aus dem Leben der Maria; (9) BKF; (10) KFM ii 78.

(3) Rubens; (5) Px; (8) Circ. 1630; (9) BKF; (10) KDK 316.

(3) Rubens; (8) Circ. 1620; (9) Louvre; (10) KDK 198.

(3) Velasquez; (5) Px; (8) 1651-1655; (9) Madrid, Prado, (10) KDK 78.

(4) Ecclesia Triumphans; (10) MM 67; (11) A very beautiful miniature.

(10) MM 37.

(1) Old Chapter Seal; (4) Coronation; (9) Durham Cathedral; (10) HAI 180.

(1) Heures de Milan.

GF C
(2) D

(4) Descent of Holy Spirit; (8) Beg. 15 C.; (9) Milan, Bibl. Trivulziana; (10) HM vii; (11) God the Father and God the Son are represented in a halo at the top of the picture, and the Dove proceeds from them.

Examples of Variants

This group is of the same general character as that which precedes, but the figure of God the Father is usually more prominent in the centre of the picture, and forms a background for the other persons represented.

(3) Attributed to Baldassare Peruzzi 1481-1537; (9) Rome, S. Pietro in Montorio; (10) R ii 523.

(3) Gentile da Fabriano; (9) Brera 497; (10) R iii 499: SC 429.

(3) A. Borgognone; (5) Fresco; (9) Milan, S. Simpliciano; (10) SC 441.

(3) A. Borgognone; (9) Brera 308; (10) R iii 498.

(3) Lorenzo di Niccolo, fl. 1400-1440; (5) Px; (9) Chantilly; (10) CH 12.

(3) C. Crivelli; (9) Brera 203; (10) R iii 502.

(3) Antonio Vivarini 1400-1470; (9) Venice, S. Pantaleone; (10) OP 2119 b.

(3) Antonio Vivarini (?) (4) Coronation. One of six panels representing the life of Mary; (9) Berlin BKF Nr. 1058; (10) KFM i 100.

CHAPTER XVIII

Unconventional Representations of the Trinity in Related Groups

By far the greater number of the representations of the Trinity are formal and conventional, falling naturally into a comparatively small number of type-groups. In all periods, however, we find pictures which represent the Trinity more or less informally and often incidentally. Their comparatively small number may be explained in part, by that artistic sense of the fitness of things, prevalent in all ages, which feels the formal style as most fitting for portraying Deity; in part also, by the conservatism and imitative genius of mediaeval painters and copyists who preferred to follow types evolved through continual representation of a subject, as for example, that of the Baptism or Coronation. From an aesthetic standpoint, these pictures are, in general, repulsive and unpleasant, because they deal familiarly with the divine Persons, and lack the dignity of the formal styles.

The representation of the creation of Adam and Eve upon an often described sarcophagus from S. Paolo, now in the Lateran Museum (DE I 57), probably portrays the Trinity, and is usually quoted as the oldest representation of the three Persons in human form now known. It is described on p. 82 as a possible prototype of the horizontal type, but it might also with reason be classified here, for the figures are shown unconventionally, two sitting and one standing.

The pictures of the first group, those of the Ars Moriendi, are homely and familiar.[1] God the Father and

[1] Frescoes and paintings of the "Dance of Death" represent religious subjects unconventionally, and may show the Trinity. A convenient, tabulated survey of materials from the 14th to the 18th century, is found in "Der Todtentanz" by Theodor Prüfer, Berlin, 1876.

Christ are persons at the bedside of the dying. The artistic sense of the artist determined their position in the picture, and it is easy to imagine endless variety in such representations. Sometimes the Dove perches on the bedstead, but is more often omitted, so that the representation of the Trinity, when it occurs, seems purely incidental. These pictures are distinct in that they hardly suggest divinity, and are the most human and natural of all representations of the Trinity.

In the second group two pictures widely separated in time are noted, which are distinctively characterized by the arbitrary introduction of one Person of the Trinity into the picture, without reasonable motive apparent for such insertion, and quite unrelated to the other two Persons. In the first picture God the Father and God the Holy Ghost sit side by side at the right. At the left the Madonna and Child are shown, with the Dove above, turning away from the figures at the right. The second picture shows Michael in combat with Satan; above him are the Dove and God the Father. In the upper left-hand corner of the picture Mary and the Child are portrayed, perhaps as onlookers, or to fill space.

The pictures of the third section might be included under those of the horizontal type (G D G), but are included here because of the familiar handling of a type usually conventional. In the second picture, God the Father and Christ are represented standing, with the hovering Dove between them, touching their lips with its extended wings. This is typical of hundreds of pictures, but here God the Father peers through a small window so that only his face is seen, while Christ stands in his tomb.

The fourth division includes unconventional groupings of the crucified Christ, God the Father, and the Dove.

The fifth group affords a category for those curious and repulsive pictures known by the name of "Intercession." God the Father is represented as the God of Justice, before whom Christ and Mary kneel in supplication. In the first quoted here, God the Father bears a

sword; in the second he points with three arrows to Fames, Bellum and Pestilentia. In both pictures the Dove hovers above, while Mary points to her breasts and Christ to his wounded side.

EXAMPLES—GROUP I

(1) ARS MORIENDI; (5) Ho; (8) 15C.; (9) BKK, Taf. II, Cim. 2; (11) S IV 253. Taf. X shows another example.

GROUP II

(1) Saxon Ms.
(2) D G G
(4) Trinity, Psa. CX; (8) 10C; (9) BM; (10) TW 70 DE I 60 SVR I 236.

(2) M G
Cc
D

(3) Jacobo Tintoretto; (4) Strife of Archangel Michael with Satan; (5) Px; (6) II; (7) 3.18 x 2.20; (9) Dresden 266; (10) Dresden Catalogue p. 33.

GROUP III

(3) French Ms.; (9) Bibl. Nat. fr. 6275; (10) SH II Pl. 135 XXXVIII-1; XXXIX-3 is similar.

(3) Pierre Villate ?; (4) Le Christ au Tombeau; (8) 15C.; (9) Church at Boulbon; (10) GB XXXI 1904, 449; (11) Ibid. 450.

Group IV

D
(2) X G F

(3) Meister von Messkirch; (4) The Holy Trinity adored by the donors, the family von Bubenhoren; (8) c. 1520; (9) Cassel Gemälde Gal., (10) HMK Cassel 89: R II 4.

GF
(2) X D
Putti

(3) Lucas Cranach the Elder; (5) Px; (6) Lunette; (9) D 190 6D.

This is the upper lunette of six pictures in a frame, which originally were not together.

Group V

(4) Westphalian Altar-piece; (5) Px; (8) c 1500; (9) Hohenbudberg bei Uerdingen a/Rh.; (10) Am XV.

D
(2) GF C
M

(3) Hans Baldung (Grien); (4) Intercession; (10) HOL II 383; (11) Ibid. 382.

CHAPTER XIX

Anthropomorphic Monstrosities

From the 13th to the 17th century, but more especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Trinity was sometimes represented by uniting and fusing together, three human faces or figures. Such monstrous representations naturally offended the good sense of the Church, and they were forbidden by Urban VIII.[1] This prohibition would indicate a considerable vogue, the extent of which is difficult to determine, because of the order that these heretical Trinities should be burned. Comparatively few have come under my notice and but one in a painting of importance, namely, that by Fra Bartolomeo, who represented the Trinity by three faces joined together, placed comparatively inconspicuously and unoffensively in the upper portion of the "Madonna Enthroned," to be found in the Uffizi.

In general, these strange productions of the imagination seem to admit of no classification as to time, nor as to manner of joining faces and bodies. It may however, be profitable to question why this manner of representing the Trinity arose at the time it did. The Greeks carefully avoided this style, according to Didron, so we can hardly ascribe it to Eastern practice in the representation of the Trinity. Two-headed and three-headed figures were, however, common in classic art, and it may be that greater interest in ancient art in the 13th and succeeding centuries, inspired the adoption of pagan forms.

[1] "Urbanus VIII comburi jussit imaginem cum tribus buccis, tribus nasis et quatuor oculis, et alias si quæ invenirentur similes; hæc enim nova inventio repræsentandi sanctissimam Trinitatem tolerabilis non videtur"; Bibliotheca Canonica by L. Ferraris Rome 1787, Vol. 4, 36 b. (CU 203 F 41). Under "Imagines" will be found many references to mediæval art.

Abelard is sometimes mentioned as the originator of the representation of the Trinity discussed in this chapter. By his order a sculptured monument is said to have been made, which Mabillon has described.[1] Didron gives evidence to prove that this Trinity was four centuries later than Abelard, but is noncommittal as to its character. The description seems to me clearly that of a Trinity of the horizontal type, with God the Father between the Son and the Holy Ghost. The fact that the group was cut from a single block, and that Mabillon is ambiguous when he says the three Persons have the same face, mien and form, certainly do not justify the definite statements of some writers,—Detzel for example, (DE I 61), who makes Mabillion say that Abelard, "einen Steinblock habe hauen lassen, der drei aneinandergelegte Körper dargestellt habe."

There seems to be no evidence to justify the connection of Abelard's name with Trinitarian monstrosities.

Examples

(5) Sculpture; (8) 13th C.; (9) Chalons-sur-Marne. Notre-Dame; (10) DA22.

This satisfactory illustration of this Trinity in stone, and that of the glass window in the same church, quoted

[1] "Antequam Abaëlardi *Paraclitum* dimittamus, (sic loco illi nomen inditum mox diximus) haud ab re videtur hic observare trium sanctissimæ Trinitatis cui dedicatum ejus loci oratorium est, personarum extantes figuras ad humanam staturam, ex uno lapide fabrefactas quas Abaëlardus ipse fabricari curavit, insolito, ut in omnibus insolitus erat, modo. Pater in medio positus est cum toga talari stola e collo pendente & ad pectus decussata, atque ad cingulum adstricta; cum corona clausa in capite et globo in sinistra manu; pallio superindutus, quod ad duas hinc inde personas extenditur, cujus e fibula pendet lembus deauratus his verbis adscriptis, *Filius meus es tu.* Ad Patris dextram stat Filius cum simili toga, sed absque cingulo, habens in manibus crucem pectori appositam, et ad sinistram partem lembum cum his verbis. *Pater meus es tu.* Ad sinistram extat Spiritus-sanctus consimili toga indutus, decussatas super pectus habens manus cum hoc dicto, *Ego utriusque spiraculam.* Filius coronam spineam, Spiritus-sanctus olearem gerit. uterque respicit Patrem, qui calceatus est, non duæ aliæ personæ. Eadem in tribus vultus species & forma." Vol. 6, p. 85. (UTS 57a). Annales ordinis Sancti Benedecti. Jean Mabilion Paris. 1703-1739. 6 vols.

below and apparently copied from it, show the curious optical properties of these heads, which have three faces with but four eyes. The observer involuntarily groups two eyes together and disregards for the moment the face devoid of one eye.

(1)Spanish Miniature. Ms de la Bibl. roy. 7135; (8) 13th C.; (10) DI 567, ii 44; (11) En plan ces trois têtes formes un trèfle.

(1) French Miniature; (8) 14C; (6) Bibl. S. Geneviève; (11) WE5 Three heads and one body. Gg as child.

(1) Miniature from Oriental Bible; (8) 14C; (9) Rome, Cod. Vat. lat. 3550; (10) VM xxii; (11) VM 40. G has two faces while Gg perches on his robe as a dove; in front Moses kneels.

(5) Ho; (8) Italy, 15 C; (9) In an edition of Dante, 1491. Paradiso fol. CCLXXVIII; (10) DI 596, II 73.

(1) Madonna enthroned with saints; (3) Fra Bartolomeo; (8) Beg. 16 C; (9) Florence. Uffizi; (10) GA 209; (11) DE i 61.

(4) Spendung des Abendmahles an die Apostel; (8) 1512; (9) Bozen. In the former Spitalkirche; (11) De i 60; Mitthlgn. der k. k. Central-Commission. Neue Folge ii, S. liv.

(1) French Miniature; (8) 16 C; (9) Paris. Ms. du Roi Henri II. Bibl. roy.; (10) DI 580.

(1) Livre d'Heures; (8) Imprimé à Paris, 1524 par Simon Vostre; (10) DI 575.

(1) Speisung der Apostel durch die Trinität; (5) Wandgemälde; (8) 1514 ?; (9) Botzen. Realschule. From the Spitalkirche; (10) MC liv.; (11) MC s. liii.

(5) Glass window; (9) 16th C.; (9) Chalons-sur-Marne. Notre-Dame; (10) DA 22; (11) DE i 61.

CHAPTER XX

The Annunciation

It may at first seem hardly likely that a representation of the Trinity was intended in pictures of The Annunciation. Insomuch as God the Son was conceived by the Holy Ghost, it is somewhat difficult to localize God the Son, when God the Father is shown above, with the Dove proceeding from him to the Virgin. Mediæval artists were, however, equal to this difficulty, and represented both God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, on the rays of light extending from the Father to the Virgin. In these pictures, God the Son is usually a diminutive figure bearing a cross, either preceding or following the Dove. Examples of this curious representation of the Trinity are to be found in the following pictures:

(3) Domenico Panetti; (5) Px; (9) Ferrara, Gal. del 'Ateneo; (10) SC 204.

(5) Ho; (9) Lilienfeld; (10) VA v.

(1) High Altar; (8) 1415-1425; (9) Lübeck, Marienkirche; (10) KA 201, 25.

(1) Biblia Pauperum, Edition of P. Heitz. Strasburg, 1903.

(1) Bömisch, Vesperale et Matutinale; (5) Mv; (8) End 14 C. or beg. 15C; (9) Zittau, City Library, Ms. A. i. Bl. 1; MS Kunstbeilage 244; (11) Ibid. 246.

In most examples of the Annunciation however, God the Son is not represented. It is a question whether in some pictures God the Son is represented or not, by the

Word, which is spread before Mary. This may seem a refinement of interpretation, but in all probability we shall not outdo the mediaeval artists and theologians in what they thought and tried to represent. A noteworthy example of the representation of the Annunciation, in enamel, is to be found in an exquisite triptych of the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Here the Book outspread before the kneeling Virgin, is all but in the vertical axis of the picture, with the Dove and God the Father above. The tripartite lily is prominently represented, and a kneeling angel with uplifted finger, directs the gaze of Mary to the Dove and God the Father. Comparing this picture with other representations of the Trinity, already considered, one can hardly escape the thought that to represent the Trinity may have been in the mind of the artist.

It is to be noticed that almost all representations of the Annunciation, are diagonal as regards the position of God the Father, the Dove and Mary. This arrangement is not well adapted to represent the Trinity, and in most cases we may be reasonably certain that there was no intention to represent the doctrine. Numerous examples of the Annunciation will be found in Reinach, Vols. II and III.

APPENDIX I

Threefold Symbols

1. The triangle, often enclosing an eye; widely used by Free Masons; splendid examples are to be found on the ceiling of the E. porch of the Französische Kirche, Berlin; in the Salle of St. Andre, New Imperial Palace, Kremlin, Moscow; and in the modern mural paintings by J. Skovgaard in the 12th century Cathedral of Viborg, Denmark. (Cf. Viborg Domkirke, Copenhagen, H. Hagerup, 1909).
   For churches and other buildings triangular in plan, and for the use of three apses, arches, windows, etc. cf. DE 56, DI II 30 ff.

2. Combinations of triangles.
   The Pentagram.
   The star.

3. Three circles, sometimes interwoven.
   Three suns.

4. The trefoil.

5. Three suns.
   Three balls.
   The three balls of Bernardino, Mary of Egypt and Nicholas.

6. Three windows, doors or openings.

7. Three visitors of Abraham.
   Three angels of fiery furnace.
   Three wise men.

8. Three fish.
Three hares. Detzel illustrates the best known example in the Cathedral of Paderborn (DE 38).
Three stones of St. Barbara.

9. Three parted flowers and leaves. Lily family, clover, shamrock, violets, pansies and star-flowers. The fleur-de-lis.

10. Three parted crystals.
Three crosses, and by extension, probably a single cross; also cruciform flowers and other objects.[1]

11. The sign of the cross. For the use of the three fingers, etc. cf. DI 409, SY 418.

12. The sign of benediction. St. Bartholomew by J. J. J. Tissot, No. 60 of the Brooklyn Museum, shows an unusual form of Trinitarian blessing. The index finger of the right hand points upward; thumb and fourth finger of the left hand all but touch in an impossible position, while the other three fingers are extended vertically upwards. In the Ascension, No. 349 of the same series of pictures, one of two figures points upward with one finger of each hand; the other figure points upward with one finger of one hand. Cf. also, No. 304 for symbols of the Trinity.

13. The candle. Montault quotes the Textus sacramentorum, dating from the end of the 11th century: In se candela tria designare videtur: Cera, focus, lumen, tria sunt, monstrant Numen; In lichino Natus, in flamma Flamen habetur, Sic Deus in cera pariter Pater esse probatur. (IBM II 29).

[1] "A tear-drop is full of minute crosses, and when it has evaporated, leaves in unmistakable characters, its cruciform record of sorrow." (Sy 463).

14. In the Middle Ages, three candles before the altar, were a symbol of the Trinity.[1] "Les trois cierges, alignés devant l'autel pendant le moyen Âge, sont encore un symbole de la Trinité. Ce rite subsiste à la Cathédral de Tours, où le rateau qui les supporte ne date que du siècle dernier." (Ibid.)

15. The Three Colors.
The colors, red, white and blue, as symbols of the Trinity, are said to have been revealed to Pope Innocent III upon the occasion of the foundation of the order of Trinitarians, who wear a white habit in honor of God, the Ancient of days, and a cross of blue and red in honor of Christ and the Holy Spirit.

16. The three virtues, faith, hope and love.

17. The Gloria Patri.
The three-fold Sanctus.
The Benedicite. The "Benedicite" is considered a symbol of the Trinity because in the Apocrypha at symbol of the Trinity because in the Apocrypha at v. 27 of "The Song of the Three Holy Children" it is recorded: "Then the three, as out of one mouth, praised, glorified, and blessed God in the furnace, saying:" (Auth. V. of Eng. Bible, Combridge Press, 1909. CU 220.52 FO9 4) Cf. also Dan. 3.

18. Four-parted objects are sometimes held to be symbols of the Trinity because they suggest God the Father, God the Spirit, Christ as God and Christ as man.
The Tetramorph may sometimes embody these ideas. In an example to be found in the Bible of

[1] The three Zabriskie memorial lamps of Christ Church, Cooperstown, N. Y. may be considered a modern example of this custom.
The three candles over the head of Christ, of the East window of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, would seem to represent the Trinity, and the four candles below, the Gospels this being a part of the symbolism of the mystic number seven. The artist however, is said to have had in mind the seven candles of the Apocalypse.

Clement VII (1378-1394), the Eagle's head is more prominent than the symbols of other Evangelists with which it is grouped, and they are surrounded by four times three wings. (For illustration, and description of the Ms. cf. UP PI 153, Text I 413 ff.)

F. McGloin sees a symbol of the Trinity in the three Yods or branches of the sacred letter Schin with which one end of the Hebrew phylactery was marked. The abnormal Schin with four branches of the other end, is held by him to be a four-parted symbol of the Trinity. (MHTJ 215). In like manner he explains the Tetragrammaton JHVH; JHV, standing for the Trinity, and the two H's for the divine and human natures of Christ.

APPENDIX II

Some Ethnic Trinities

Trinities have been found in many ethnic religions, but the statements in regard to them need critical sifting. One great difficulty is that the ethnic trinities have not been believed in by all the representatives of a given religion; in some cases they have been merely the embodiments of the reflection of a larger or smaller group of worshippers. The subjoined list is therefore put forward tentatively. For fuller information, see ETP.

The Babylonian Trinity
Anu
Bel
Ea

The Capitoline Triad
Jupiter
Juno
Minerva

The Egyptian Trinity
Osiris
Isis (Egypt offers examples
Horus of many local Trinities.)

Grecian Triads

Zeus	Zeus	Zeus
Athene	Hera	Poseidon
Apollo	Athene	Hades

India
The Hindoo Trimurti
Krishna
Vishnu
Shiva

The Vedic Trinity
Dyaus
Indra
Agni

The Persian Trinity
Ormuzd
Anahita
Mithra

APPENDIX III

GROUPS OF FACULITIES OR QUALITIES, SUPPOSEDLY IN SOME WAY RELATED TO THE TRIUNE NATURE OF GOD.

Plato.

"The doctrine attributed to that Greek philosopher, and which seems rather to be deducible from his general theory, than openly avowed by himself, is that divine triplicity ought to be called Goodness, Intelligence, and the Soul or cause of all things."

Études sur la Theodicée de Platon et d'Aristote par M. Jules Simon, pp. 148, 151, 175.

Numerius.

Father, Creator and That which is Created.

Seneca.

"God, who can do all things; next incorporeal Reason, by which the greatest works are performed; lastly the Divine Spirit circulating throughout everything."

Ap. Senecam, De Consolatione ad Helviam, cap. VIII.

Saint Augustine.

"But in these three, when the mind knows itself and loves itself, there remains a trinity, mind, love, knowledge;"

(On the Trinity, Aurelius Augustine, trans. by M. Dods, Edinburgh, 1873., vol. VII, Bk. IX. 5, p. 229).

St. Ambrose.

"Precisely as the Son is begotten by the Father,

and as the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, so from the intelligence volition is engendered, and from these two powers proceeds memory."

St. Ambrosii Hexameron, lib. VI, cap. VII, s. 43; ap. Opera. tom II. Append., p. 612.

The author of the Golden Legend in discoursing upon the Trinity says: "The first example in a man is wisdom, and thereof cometh understanding, memory, and cunning. (GL 2 143).

Cf. further, DI II 1-7.

APPENDIX IV

Flowers as Symbols of the Trinity

Various species of the lily family are probably the three-parted flowers most commonly represented, which we may reasonably assume were intended to suggest the Trinity, although, of course lilies are not always to be considered symbols of the Trinity. No member of the family seems to me more fitting than the white trillium, T. grandiflorum, but so far as I know it has never been used as a symbol of the Trinity.

The fleur-de-lis is often a symbol of the Trinity, and in February, 1376, Charles V reduced the number to be used in heraldry to three, in honor of the Trinity.[1] (Cf. EB X 499cd.) Many examples of the use of the fleur-de-lys in Christian art may be found in the illustrations of the Tapisseries De la Chaise Dieu by Jubinal.

(ATH Plates 3, 12, 14, 15, etc. Cf. also 9, 30 for representations of the Trinity.)

The two-volume edition of the Konversationslexikon of Brockhaus names the Trientalis Europaea, Chickweed winter-green, as the plant sometimes designated by Dreifaltigskeitblümchen or Siebenstern. Its American representative, Trientalis americana, is one of the starriest of flowers. Gray's Manual (1887) gives the prosaic information that it is called Trientalis because it is a third of a foot high. Its corolla is said to be seven-parted usually. For me it has exhibited six petals quite as commonly. The star is a symbol of the Trinity because it may be formed by interlacing two triangles, and because of the star, which according to the Bible story shone upon the birthplace of Christ, whose Incarnation is, of

[1] The windows and walls of the French Chapel, Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, show many examples.

course, an essential element of the doctrine of the Trinity.[1]

The Dreifaltigkeitsblume or -kraut of Germany, is usually the Stiefmüterchen or Viola, our Johnny-jump-ups. Meyers Konversationslexikon says (sub Viola) that the brilliant little triangularly shaped yellow flowers, streaked with black rays, were regarded as symbols of the Trinity in the Middle Ages. Illustrations showing the use of this symbol upon tombstones may be found in Inscriptions Funeraires et Monumentales de la Province D'Anvers, vol. III., 2. pp. 149, 165, 344, 493. (CU AWI v 62 3). Trinitaria, in Spanish, means Viola tricolor, or pansy.

[1] In most reproductions of the picture entitled "Hope" (1886) by G. F. Watts, the symbolic star is not shown, which quite deprives the picture of meaning.

APPENDIX V

Addenda

Gervase of Canterbury gives to Thomas à Becket the honor of introducing Trinity Sunday into the Church year.

In the Black Forest local customs are said to survive in the use and blessing of Trinity salt.

The Biblia pauperum, a religious picture book of the 13th century, was continued in the next century by the Speculum humanae salvationis. These books were followed by the Concordantiae Caritatis of which J. E. Weis-Liebersdorf writes: "Nach 1350 entstanden die 'Concordantiae Caritatis' des österreichischen Zisterziensers Ulrich von Lilienfeld, der die Armenbibel und das Speculum kannte: hier ist der Stoff in eine neue form gebracht, nach Art einer Postille anschliessend an die Evangelienperikopen des Kirchenjahrs homiletisch be handelt u. mit mystisch gedeuteten Naturgeschehnissen aus dem Kreise des Physiologus u. der Bestiarien bereichert;" (EE XI).

A German translation of a 15th century copy of the Concordantiae Caritatis has recently (1913) been published, which renders available this old series of religious pictures, with the curious commentary upon each, drawn from the Old Testament, from classic writers, and from natural history. The comment upon the picture of the Trinity already noted (p. 76) is as follows:

"In trinitate Deus est pater, Deus est filius, etc. Abraham und die drei Engel.

Der Mundschenk träumt von drei Reben am Weinstock.

Die Elefanten sammeln sich bei Neumond, baden in Flusse, vermeigen sich vor dem neuen Gestirn und

kehren zurück (Plinius): im Flusse der Reuetränen sollen wir uns waschen, im Geheimnis der Menschwerdung die heiligste Dreieinigkeit verehren und so unsern Platz im Himmel erwerben.

Wer drei Gluhwürmchen verzehrt, in dem wird jede Regung der bösen Lust erstickt (Lib. rer.): wer die Werke der hl. Dreifaltigkeit in glühender Andacht in sich aufnimmt, wird die böse Lust leicht überwinden." (EE 57.)

The 15th century Ms. circ. 1410-1437 from which this quotation is made contains a preface dated 1489 and a bibliography of the then current Incunabula.

Geography of the Trinity

Lippincott's Gazetteer, 1906

Trinidad, British West Indies, is the largest island of the name. Trinidad, Cuba, and Trinidad, Col., are the largest cities; Trinidad in Bolivia, Trinidad in Uruguay, and La Trinité, Martinique, are the largest towns; half a dozen villages in the United States named Trinity, and many other places, rivers, bays, etc., show the influence of the Trinity upon the map.

A Miracle from the History of S. Pelagius

GL VIII 107

"And tofore this time it is said in a chronicle about the year of our Lord four hundred and one, as the heresy Arian grew in France, the unity of the substance of three persons was showed by open miracle like as Philibert rehearseth. For as the bishop sang mass in the city of Vasacence he saw three drops right clear, all of one greatness, which were upon the altar, and all three ran together into a precious gem, and when they had set this gem in a cross of gold all the other precious stones that were there fell out."

"It was so that this glorious doctor made and compiled many volumes, as afore is said, among whom he made a book of the Trinity, in which he studied and mused sore in his mind, ..."

"Yes, forsooth," said he, "I shall lightlier and sooner draw all the water of the sea and bring it into this pit than thou shalt bring the mystery of the Trinity and his divinity into thy little understanding as to the regard thereof; for the mystery of the Trinity is greater and larger to the comparison of thy wit and brain than is this great sea unto this little pit . . . . Then here may every man take ensample that no man, and especially simple lettered men, ne unlearned, presume to intermit ne to muse on high things of the godhead, farther than we be informed by our faith, for our faith only shall suffice us. Then herewith I make an end of the life of this glorious S. Austin, to whom let us devoutly pray that he be a mediator and advocate unto the blessed Trinity, that we may amend our sinful life in this transitory world, that when we shall depart we may come to everlasting bliss in heaven.

Amen."

Bibliography and Abbreviations

References in the text to the books of this Bibliography have been made by means of the letters which precede each title. Volumes and plates are usually indicated by Roman numerals; pages, by Arabic numbers. The part of the page to which reference has been made has sometimes been indicated by a, b, c, or d, following the number of the page.

AA Annales Archéologiques. A. N. Didron. 27 vols. Paris. 1844-65.

AB Heures d'Anne de Bretagnes. Paris, Berthaud Frères, 1906. (Larger edition. Delaunay. Paris, Curmer, 1841.)

ABI L'Arte Bisantina, in Italia. A. Colasanti. Milan. Bestetti e Tumminelle. (CU AO C672).

AM Ave Maria. 16 Blätter eines spätgotischen Westphälischen Liebfrauenaltares. B. Kühlen. M. Gladbach, 1898.

ANF Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst in Bild u. Schrift. T. O. Weigel u. Dr. Ad. Zestermann. Leipzig, T. O. Weigel, 1866.

ANM Alt-Niederländische Malerei. Ernst Heidrich. Jena, E. Diedrichs, 1910.

ARP Archaeology of Rome. J. H. Parker. London. J. Murray, 1877. (CU AR45 R664).

ATH Anciennes Tapisseries Historiées. A. Jubinal. Paris, 1838. (CU AM8 J870).

AUBK Altchristliche u. Byzantische Kunst. Oskar Wulff. Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1914. (CU AO W952).

BA Peintures des Manuscrits. Auguste de Bastarde. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1832-1869.

BB Biblothèque Royale de Belgique.

BKB Berlin. Königliche Bibliothek.

BKF Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

BKK Königliches Kupferstichkabinet. Berlin.

BM London. British Museum.

BO Gemälde Alter Meister im Besitze des Kaisers. Bode u. Friedländer. Rich. Bong.

BP Biblia Pauperum. J. P. Bergeau. London, J. R. Smith, 1859.

BR Le Peint Graveur, 21 vols. Adam Bartsch. Leipzig, 1866.

BRA L'Art Mosan. J. Brassine. Brussels, G. Van Oest & Cie., 1906.

BU Die Bücher-Ornamentik der Renaissance. A. F Butsch. Leipzig, G. Hirth, 1878.

Burger. Deutsche Malerei. Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft.

C Following numerals, C denotes Century; in descriptions of pictures, Christ.

CA Dictionary of Christian Antiquities. W. Smith and S. Cheetham. 2 vols. Boston. Little, Brown Co., 1875.

Cc Christ-child.

CC The Creeds of Christendom. 3 vols. Philip Schaff. N. Y., Harper & Bros. 1877.

CDG The Christian Doctrine of God. W. J. Sparrow-Simpson. London, Richard Flint & Co., 1906.

CE The Catholic Encyclopedia. N. Y., R. Appleton Co., 1910.

CH La Peinture à Chantilly. Écoles Étrangères. Paris, 1896.

CK Die Christliche Kunst in Wort u. Bild. K. Atz. Regensburg, Nationale Kunstanstalt, 1899.

CL Handbook of Legendary and Mythological Art. C. E. Clement. Boston. H. M. & Co., 1881.

CO Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie. Le R. P. dom Fernand Cabrol. 5 vols. A-Chypre. Paris 1907-1914.

CR Iconographie Chrétienne. Crosnier. Tours, 1876.

CRF Monuments of Christian Rome. A. L. Frothingham. New York. Macmillan, 1908.

CU Library of Columbia University, New York.

D Dresden; in descriptions of pictures, Dove.

Davies Hans Holbein the Younger. Gerald S. Davies. London, G. Bell & Sons.

DE Christliche Ikonographie. Heinrich Detzel. Freiburgi. B., Herderische Verlagshandlung, 1894.

DH Historie de Dieu. A. N. Didron. Paris, 1853.

DI Iconographie Chrétienne. M. Didron. Paris, 1843. If page number is preceded by "I" or "II" reference is to translation by M. Stokes. London. G. Bell & Sons. 1907. Bohn Library, 2 vols.

DOT The Doctrine of the Trinity. J. R. Illingworth. London, Macm., 1909.

DS Denkmäler der Schreibkunst. J. R. v. Karabacek. Leipzig. K. W. Hiersemann. 1913 (CU 417 V 675).

E Ermitage, Petrograd.

EB Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th Edition.

ECA Early Christian Antiquities of the British Museum. O. M. Dalton. London. B. M. 1901. This book gives interesting examples of early Christian coins and other objects, with useful references. (CU AO B773).

ED Early Drawings and Illuminations. Birch and Jenner. London, S. Bagster & Sons, 1879.

EE Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte. Das Kirchenjahr in 156 Gotischen Federzeichnungen. J. E. Weis-Liebersdorf. Strassburg, Heilz, 1913.

EO Evangelarium Ottos III. Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Kgl. Hof- u. Staatsbibliothek in München. Heft. 1. G. Leidinger. München, Riehn u. Tietze.

ERF L'Evangile. Rohault de Fleury. 2 vols. Tours 1874. (CU AO R63).

ETP The Ethnic Trinities. L. L. Paine. Boston, H. M. & Co., 1901.

FA Florence, Academy.

FR Die Kunst in Bildern. Die Frührenaissance. Jena, E. Diederichs.

GA Evolution in Italian Art. Grant Allen. London, G. Richards, 1908.

GAC Storia della Arte Cristiana. P. R. Garrucci Prato, 1881.

GB Gazette des Beaux-Arts.

GD Gerard David u. seine Schule. Eberhard v. Bodenhausen. München, Bruckmann, 1905.

GDF Gentile da Fabriano. Arduino Colasanti. Bergamo, Institute Italiano D'Arti Grafiche, 1909.

GE Das Evangeliar im Rathaus zu Goslar. A. Goldschmidt. Berlin, J. Bard, 1910.

GG Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter. F. Gregorovius. Stuttgart, 1889.

GLC Golden Legend as Englished by William Caxton. 7 vols. London. J. M. Dent & Co. Temple Classics. 1900.

GR Ueber bildische Darstellung der Gottheit. Karl Gruneisen. Stuttgart, 1828.

GVM Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters. S. Beissel. Freiberg i. Br. Herdersche Verlagshandlung 1909.

H History of Dogma. A. Harnack. Tr. N. Buchanan. 7 vols. Boston. Little, Brown and Co. 1901.
In descriptions of pictures, H denotes Hand of God.

HA Heures à l'Usage d'Angèrs, de la Collection Martin Le Roy. P. Durrieu. Paris, 1912.

HAI Historical and Artistic Illustrations of the Trinity. J. R. Beard. London, 1846.

HAM Man in Art. P. G. Hamerton. Macm. 1892.

HC Très riches Heures de Jean de France Duc de Berry. P. Durrieu. Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1904.

HCC A History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith. W. A. Curtis. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1911.

HD Manuscrits de Savoie. F. Mugnier. Montiers-Tarentaise, F. Ducloz, 1894.

HE Miniaturen aus dem Psalterium der Heiligen Elizabeth. H. Swoboda. Vienna, J. Wlha, 1898.

HH Heures de Henry IV. Paris, Berthaud Frères, 1908.

HJ Deux Livres d'Heures de Jacques Cœne. J. van den Gheyn. Brussels, Vromant & Cie.

HL Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, Heft 18 Holländische Miniaturen. W. Vogelsang. Strassburg, 1899.

HM Heures de Milan. G. H. de Loo. Paris, G. van Oest & Cie., 1911.

HMK Hanfstaengls Maler-Klassiker.
1. Die Meisterwerke der Kgl. Aelteren Pinakothek zu München.
2. Die Meisterwerke der Kgl. Gemälde Galerie zu Dresden.
3. Die Meisterwerke der National Gallery zu London.
4. Die Meisterwerke des Rijks-Museum zu Amsterdam.
5. Die Meisterwerke der Kgl. Gemälde Galerie im Haag u. der Galerie der Stadt Haarlem.
6. Die Meisterwerke der Kgl. Gemälde Galerie zu Cassel.

HN Livres d'Heures Normands Manuscrits à Peintures de L'École de Rouen. G. Ritter. Paris, A. Picard, 1913.

HO Holbein u. seine Zeit. Alfred Woltmann. Leipzig, Seemann, 1874.

HOL History of Our Lord. Mrs. A. Jameson. Continued by Lady E. Eastlake. 2 vols. London. Longman, 1865.

HOP Handbook of Painting. Based on the Handbook of Kugler. Crowe and Layard, 4 vols. London. J. Murray, 1891.

HT Heures de Turin. Très Belles Heures de Jean de France, Duc de Berry. Paris, 1902.

HTM The Holy Trinity. L. G. Mylne. Longmans, Green & Co., 1916.

IB Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages. H. N. Humphreys. London, L. B. G. & L., 1849.

IBM Iconographie Chrétienne. Barbier de Montault. Paris, L. Vives, 1890.

IM Illuminated Manuscripts in Classical and Mediæval Times. J. H. Middleton. Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1892.

IMBM Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum. G. F. Warner. 4 series. London BM 1904. (CU B016.09 B777Q Series 1-4 in four portfolios).

J Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen. Berlin, Groteische Verlag.

K Künstler Monographien, edited by H. Knackfuss. Leipzig Valhagen & Klasing. 50 + vols. (CU AW K96).

KA Kunsthistorischer Apparat, Leipziger Universität.

KB Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Bayern. München, R. Oldenbourg, 1908.

KDK Klassiker der Kunst. Stuttgart u. Berlin, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt.

KFM Die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums. Vol. I Die Romanischen Länder. Vol. II Die Germanischen Länder. Hans Posse. Berlin, Julius Bard, 1911.

KFMB Deutsche Bildwerke. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen K. F. M. zu Berlin. W. Vöge. Berlin, G. Reimer, 1910.

KG Kunstgeschichte in Bildern, Abteilung IV. Leipzig, E. A. Seamann, 1899.

KR Real-Encyklopädie der Christlichen Alterthumer. F. X. Kraus. Freiburg i. Br., 1882.

KX Der Kruzifixus. G. Schönemark. Strassburg, Heitz, 1908.

KZ Die Kreuzigung Christi. M. Engels. Luxemburg, St. Paulus Gesell., 1899.

L Louvre. In descriptions of pictures, L has been used as abbreviation for Lamb.

LA Lucernae Antiquae et Sepulchra, a P. S. Bartolio, J. P. Bellorii. Lugduni Batavorum. 1728.

LCF The Life of Christ as represented in art. F. W. Farrar. New York. Macmillan. 1894.

LDR Luca Della Robbia. Allan Marquand. Princeton, 1914.

LCB Life of Christ. S. Bonaventura. Tr. and Ed. by W. H. Hutchins. N. Y. E. & J. B. Young & Co. 1881. (UTS 465 B699).

LNG London National Gallery.

LOM Legends of the Madonna. Anna M. Jameson. London, Longmans, 1867.

LPF Les Primitifs Flamands. III. Débuts du 16me siècle. Fierens-Gevaert. Bruxelles, G. v. Oest & Cie, 1910.

LS Die Kunst der Renaissance. Lübke-Semrau. Stuttgart 1905.

MA Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes. L'Abbé Martigny. Paris, 1877.

MAR Monuments de l'ancienne Architecture Russe. W. Souslow. 7 parts. St. Petersburg. 1895. (CU AH 47 A11 Vol. i, parts 1-4. Vol. ii, parts 5-7).

MC Mitthlgn. der K. K. Central Com. I. Jahrgang, Neue Folge, 1, 2. Wien, 1875.

MCR Musaici Cristiani delle Chiese di Roma anterori al secolo xv. G. B. de Rossi. Roma Libreria Spithöver di G. Haas, 1899.

MEC Monuments of the Early Church. W. Lowrie. New York. Macmillan. 1906. (Copyright 1901). (CU AO L 952.) A useful handbook with select bibliography, which is perhaps the best available for the general works on the subjects concerned with this study of the Trinity. There are, however, some important omissions in the biliography, especially in the section upon manuscripts.

MCL Monumental Christianity. J. P. Lundy. New York. J. W. Bouton. 1882. (CU AO L97). A pious treatment of mysticism and symbolism in Christian art from an orthodox standpoint, considering in detail the influence of pagan trinities. Much suggestive matter with valuable references and extensive bibliography.

MH Meister Holzschnitte. Hirth u. Muther. Leipzig, 1893.

MHT The Mystery of the Holy Trinity in oldest Judaism. F. McGloin. Philadelphia, 1916.

MM Sammlung Miniaturen des Mittelalters. H. Reiss. Wien, 1872. Later Edition, Chromotypographisches Album enthaltend 80 Miniaturen. F. Pustet. Regensburg, Rom, & New York. A collection of exquisite little reproductions.

MMM Myth, Magic and Morals. F. C. Conybeare. Am. Unitarian Soc.

MNY Metropolitan Museum, New York.

MO Mélanges offerts à E. Chatelain par ses elèves et ses amis. Paris. L. A. H. Champion. 1910. (CU 417 M48 Q).

MS Die Malereien in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen. R. Bruck. Dresden, Meinhold & Söhne, 1906.

NH Nürnberger Holzschnitte zu zwei Nürnberger Andachtsbüchern aus dem Anfange des XVI. J. C. Dodgson. Berlin, 1909.

NM Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte. Heft 60, Die Nürnberger Miniaturmalerei. T. Raspe. Strassburg, 1905.

NY New York Public Library.

O Facsimiles of Scarce and Curious Prints. W. J. Ottley. London, 1828.

OP Outline Studies of Art. Vol. I, Early Italian Art. Powers and Powe. Boston, 1907.

P Paris.

PB Le Bréviare de Phillippe le Bon. J. v. den GHEYN. Brussels, G. v. Oest & Cie, 1909.

PBN Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale.

PF-II La Peinture Française. Les Primitifs. II Série. J. Guiffrey et P. Marcel.

PFc Les Primitifs Français exposés au Pavillon de Marsan, Louvre, et à la Bibliothèque Nationale, Avril, 1914. Catalogue illustré.

PS Palaeographical Society. Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions. Bond, Thompson & Warner. Second Series, Vol. ii. London. 1884-1894.

Q Quaritch's Biblical and Liturgical Manuscripts. London, B. Quaritch, 1892.

QAS Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts. J. O. Westwood. London, B. Quaritch, 1868.

QM Queen Mary's Psalter, G. Warner. London, B. M., 1912.

R Répertoire de Peintures. 3 vols. S. Reinach. Paris, E. Leroux, 1905.

RA Revue Archéologique. Tome VII. 1906.

RC Revue de l'Art Chrétien.

RE Éléments D'Archéologie Chrétienne. Chanoine Reussens. Aix-la-Chapelle, 1885.

RG Documents inédits sur les peintres, peintres-verriers et enlumineurs d'Avignon au XVe siècle. Abbé Reguin. Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux Arts de départements. XIIIe session, 1899. p. 118.

RI Jusepe de Ribera. A. L. Mayer, Leipzig, Hiersemann, 1908.

RS Roma Subterranea. 2 vols. A. Bosio. Rome. 1651.

RSR Roma Sotterranea. G. B. de Rossi. 3 vols. Roma. 1864. (CU AR45 R 661).

S Gravure sur Bois et sur Métal au XVe siècle. Tome Ie. Catalogue des Gravures Xylographiques se rapportant à la Bible. La Sainte Trinité. W. L. Schreiber. Berlin, A. Cohn, 1891. (Good bibliography).

SA St. Aethelwold's Benedictional. John Gage. London, Soc. of Antiq., 1832.

SB Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, Heft 134. Hans Sebald Beham. Nachträge zu dem kritischen Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche, Radierungen u. Holzschnitte. G. Pauli.

SC Die Madonna. T. Schrieber. Leipzig, J. J. Weber. (Splendidly illustrated).

SDA Storia dell 'Arte Italiana. A. Venturi. 7 vols. Milan. U. Hoepli, 1901.

SE Das Seitenstettener Evangelarium des XII Jahrhunderts. A. Nestlehner. Berlin, T. Prüfer, 1882.

SF Sacramentarium Fuldense. Richter u. Schönfelder. Fulda, F. Actiendruckerei, 1912.

SH Speculum Humanæ Salvationis. 2 vols. Lutz et Perdrizet. Mulhouse, E. Meininger, 1909.

SHE The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 12 vols. N. Y., F. & W. Co., 1912.

SL Psautier de Saint Louis. Paris, Berthaud Frères.

SLB Joyaux de L'Arsenal. Psautier de St. Louis et de Blanche de Castille. H. Martin. Paris, Berthaud Frères.

SOC Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments Translation of Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, William Durandus, New York. C. Scribner's Sons, 1893.

SS Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit. H. de Viel-Castel, Paris, Engelmann et Graf, 1853.

SVR Le Sainte Verge. Rohault de Fleury. 2 vols. Paris, 1878. (CU AO R 631).

SY The Cross in Tradition, History and Art. W. W. Seymour. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898.

T Das Taubensymbol des hl. Geistes. W. Stengel. Strassburg, Heitz, 1904.

TA Tesori dell 'Arte Christiana. Eucharistic Exposition. Orvieto. Sept., 1896. (CU AO M85).

TC Iconographie der Taufe Christi. J. Strzygowski. München, T. Riedel, 1885. (NY Art Dept. MAIH).

TOC The Testimony of the Catacombs and of other Monuments of Christian Art. W. B. Marriott. London. Hatchards, 1870. (CU AR45 R665).

TW Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediæval Christian Art. L. Twining.

U Skulpturennachahmung auf den niederländischen Altargemälden des 15ten J. F. R. Uebe. Cöthen-Anh., F. Both, 1913.

UP Universal Paleography. Text, 2 vols. Plates. 2 vols. Silvestre & Madden. London. H. G. Bohn, 1850.

UTS Library of Union Theological Seminary, New York.

VA Verduner Altar. Camesina u. Heider. Wien, 1860.

VM Vaticanische Miniaturen. S. Bissel. Freiburg i. Br., Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1893.

VMC Vetera Monimenta. J. Ciampinus. Rome, 1693.

VO Verzeichnis der Illuminierten Handschriften in Osterreich, I-V. F. Wickhoff. Leipzig, K. W. Hiersemann, 1905.

VR Les symboles de la Sainte Trinité. Van Robays. Bruxelles, 1876. (Ext. des Précis historiques).

WE Iconographie Gottes u. der Heiligen. J. E. Wessely. Leipzig, T. O. Weigel, 1874.

W Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms. J. Wilpert. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1903.

WM Wand u. Deckenmalereien in Deutschland. R. Bornmann. Berlin, E. Wasmuth, 1897.

WMM The Wartburg described in Monographs. A monument in commemoration of the restoration of the Wartburg, Berlin. Hist. Verlag Baumgärtel, 1907.

Y Memoirs illustrative of the County and City of York. Communicated to the Annual Meeting of the Arch. Ins. of Gt. Britain and I., held at York July, 1846.

Explanation of the Signs and Abbreviations used in describing Examples of Representations of the Trinity

(1) Name of the manuscript or of the entire work from which the representation under consideration is taken, or of which it forms a part.
(2) Letters, abbreviations or words, which by their positions indicate the composition of the picture.
(3) Name of artist or school.
(4) Name of picture.
(5) Method of making representation or picture.
(6) Form.
(7) Size, in metric units.
(8) Date and place of origin.
(9) Place where original is to be found.
(10) Place where reproduction may be found.
(11) Description or comment.

A Angel.
C Christ.
Cc Christ-child.
D Dove representing the Holy Spirit.
Fr Fresco.

G	God.
GF	God the Father.
Gg	God the Holy Spirit.
Gs	God the Son.
H	Hand representing God the Father.
Ho	Print from engraving on wood.
Hs	Hands representing God the Father.
L	Lamb representing Christ.
M	The Virgin Mary.
Mo	Mosaic picture.
Mv	Painting on vellum.
Px	Painting in oil or tempera.
X	Christ upon the cross.
†	The cross without the figure of Christ.

VITA

I was born July 11, 1873, in Rome, N. Y., where I attended the elementary schools and the Rome Free Academy. I was graduated from Cornell University in 1893, with degree of C.E.; from Hamilton College in 1900, with degree, A.B., A.M., 1909. I studied five semesters at Leipzig University: major subject, history, under Lamprecht; minor subjects, classical archæology and history of art, under Studniczka and Schmarsow, with researches in various European centers; two semesters at Columbia University under Shotwell.

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